

Negation in Old English prose

Corpus studies in constituent negation, negative raising,
and negators as equivalents of clauses

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis consisting of four published research articles is to uncover factors that explain the variation among a set of negators in litotes-type adverbial phrases (Article I), contrastive constructions (Article II), and constructions in which negators are used independently (Article III). The aim is also to provide evidence of transfer of negation from the nominal clause to the matrix clause (negative raising, NR) with four verbs expressing thinking and assumption (Article IV).

The data of the thesis are drawn from two corpora. Articles I and II are based on a select corpus of 19 Old English (OE) texts. The compilation of this corpus of 641,321 OE words, both prose and glosses, was planned in view of the various text types, dialects and periods of OE. In articles III and IV the examples were searched one by one from the DOEC. The analysis of the data was based on both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The combined method proved to be beneficial in providing answers to the research questions and in constructing comprehensive accounts of the use of negators in the data.

The findings of article I suggest that the variation among the negators in litotes-type adverbials may partly be explained by the author's dialect, and partly by text type. Such adverbials, which mainly occur in narrative texts, point to language contact through translation. The adverbials are stylistically marked and are used as embellishments. The results of article II indicate that contrastive constructions are mainly used as rhetorical means to emphasize ideas that the author considers important. The preponderance of such constructions in homilies and other texts which are intended to influence people point to genre-based variation. The use of special rhetorical devices, such as anaphora and antimetabole, belong to literary style.

Article III indicates that the adverb *nese* is used in answers to both affirmative and negative polar questions. The negator *nic* occurs a few times as an answer word to polar questions in which a response in the first person singular is expected. *Na*, which has given PDE *no* in answers, occurs in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions.

The findings of article IV suggest that the variation between matrix clause negation and nominal clause negation with four verbs indicating thinking or assumption in a complex sentence is due to pragmatic factors. It seems that negative raising is used as a hedge to lessen the impact of an opinion in OE. The extension of the notion of negation to subclausal units in two of the articles, opens up new perspectives to the study of negation in OE, which so far has mainly focused on the particle *ne* and sentential negation.

Tiivistelmä

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä julkaistusta artikkelista. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on löytää tekijöitä, jotka selittävät muinaisenglannin kieltosanojen vaihtelua, eli variaatiota erilaisissa kieltorakenteissa. Kahdessa artikkelissa, litoteesi-tyyppisissä ajan ja paikan adverbiaaleissa (*se särkyi, ei kovinkaan kauan sitten*) ja kontrastiivisissa rakenteissa (*hän osti auton, ei mopoa*), kiello rajoittuu lausetta suppeammalle alalle. Kolmas artikkeli keskittyy kieltosanojen käyttöön itsenäisesti, kuten vastauksissa kyllä-/ei-kysymyksiin. Neljännessä artikkelissa esitän vastauksen kiistanlaiseen kysymykseen kiellonnostosta, eli siitä, esiintyykö muinaisenglannissa virkkeitä, joissa sivulauseeseen loogisesti kuuluva kiello on siirretty päälauseeseen (*En usko, että hän tulee tänään*).

Artikkelit ovat korpuspohjaisia. Kahden ensiksi mainitun artikkelin korpus koostuu joukosta harkinnanvaraisella otannalla poimittuja proosatekstejä ja glosseja. Muut artikkelit pohjautuvat digitaalisen Toronto-korpuksen (*The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*) koko proosaosaan ja glosseihin. Koska tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on kieltorakenteiden kuvauksen lisäksi myös selittää kieltosanojen valintaa ja variaatiota eri rakenteissa, kuvausta on täydennetty kvantitatiivisilla havainnoilla. Tutkimuksen johtopäätökset pohjautuvat kuvauksen ja kvantitatiivisen analyysin yhdistämiseen.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että useimmissa tapauksissa variaatio selittyy tekstilajin vaihtelulla. Litoteesityyppiset adverbiaalit, joita käytetään latinankielisten alkutekstien tavoin lähinnä retorisisina tyylikeinoina, somisteina, ovat yleisimpiä narratiivisissa teksteissä. Kontrastiivisia rakenteita käytetään retorisisina keinoina korostamaan kuulijalle tai lukijalle sitä, mitä kirjoittaja pitää tärkeänä. Tällaiset rakenteet ovat siten kielellisen vaikuttamisen keinoja, joita esiintyy erityisesti homilioissa ja vuoropuheluissa mestarin ja oppilaan välillä. Retoriikan erityistekniikat, kuten antimetabola ja anafora, kuuluvat kirjalliseen genreen. Niilläkin on esikuvansa latinankielisissä teksteissä.

Tulokset osoittavat, että nykyenglannin vastausten kieltosana *no* esiintyy harvakseltaan jo muinaisenglannin vastauksissa kyllä-/ei-kysymyksiin. Useat esimerkit osoittavat, että muinaisenglannissa esiintyy kiellonnostoa. Puhuja näyttää turvautuvan tähän rakenteeseen pehmentääkseen esittämiensä mielipiteiden ja asenteiden aikaansaamaa vaikutusta keskustelukumppanissa. Löydettyt esimerkit eivät viittaa siihen, että ilmiön taustalla olisi latina. Väitöskirjan artikkelit avaavat uusia näkökulmia muinaisenglannin negaation tutkimukseen.

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I had a good start in my postgraduate studies, but I soon realized that it was impossible to combine full-time studies with my regular job as a teacher and lecturer. As the provider for a growing family I could nothing but to give up my postgraduate studies soon after completing my licentiate thesis and defer the dissertation to future years. Then, some ten years ago, the time was ripe for a new research plan which consisted of four articles.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my dissertation supervisors, Docent Matti Kilpiö, Professor Matti Rissanen, and, after his death, Professor Minna Palander-Collin. I am grateful to all three for guidance, encouragement, patience, and for time so generously given to me. My sincere thanks go to Docent Mark Shackleton for checking the language of my thesis. I am also grateful to all those whom I have had the pleasure to work with, including libraries.

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List of original publications

The thesis is based on the following published articles, which are referred to by their Roman numerals in the text:

Article I: Mönkkönen, Ilkka 2012. Negators in Adverbial Phrases Indicating Time and Place with Special Reference to Litotes. *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 113 (4), 403–432.

Article II: Mönkkönen, Ilkka 2018. Negators in Contrastive Constructions in Old English. *Studia Neophilologica* 90 (1), 1–16.

Article III: Mönkkönen, Ilkka 2016. Old English Negators as Equivalentents of a Clause. *Studia Neophilologica* 88 (1), 24–42.

Article IV: Mönkkönen, Ilkka 2019. Negative Raising in Old English with Special Reference to the Verb *wenan*. *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 120 (1), 49–75.

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Part I. Background

1. Introduction

1.1 The aim of the present study

This thesis aims to show how negators vary in different negative constructions in Old English (OE) prose. Recent research into negation in OE has mainly dealt with the particle *ne* and sentential negation (e.g. van Kemenade 1999; Ohkado 2005; van Bergen 2008a and b; and Ogura 2008). Less attention has been paid to the other negative adverbs. In this thesis, the focus is on a set of such adverbs.

The purpose of this thesis is, contrary to the mainstream research, to find out how the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *naes*,¹ and the prefix *un-* vary in phrases or other subclausal units in prose, how the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* are employed as negative response words to *yes-no* questions, in polar-alternative questions, or as exclamations, and to find an answer to the controversial question whether there are instances of negative raising (NR) in OE. Variation among the different negators may partly be explained by referring to grammatical factors, but can also be due to external factors, such as style, medium (written or spoken), text category and register (Rydén 1979: 12–13). In this paper, the external factors will be discussed under diachronic, diatopic, and genre-based variation.

The thesis is composed of background chapters and four published articles on negation. Two of the articles, namely ‘Negators in Adverbial Phrases Indicating Time and Place with Special Reference to Litotes’ (2012),² and ‘Negators in Contrastive Constructions in Old English’ (2018), focus on constructions in which the scope of negation, i.e. the stretch of language over which a negator has a semantic influence (Quirk et al. 1985: 10.64), is confined to a phrase. In the third article, ‘Old English Negators as Equivalents of a Clause’ (2016), the focus is on the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* used as answers to *yes-no* questions, in polar-alternative questions, or as interjections. In the fourth article, ‘Negative Raising in Old English with Special Reference to the Verb *wenan*’ (2019), I show, contrary to previous claims, that there are examples of constructions in which the negation is transferred from the nominal clause to the matrix clause (Negative Raising, NR) in OE.

The approach chosen is both descriptive and quantitative. The descriptive analysis of the thesis is based on data provided by *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC). In two of the articles, the description is supplemented by a quantitative analysis of the occurrences of

¹ Outside the quotations, the forms *na*, *naht*, *nawiht*, etc. also refer to the other spellings, e.g. *no*, *noht*, *nowiht* etc. The spellings *nalles*, *nales*, *nalæs*, *nals*, etc. are referred to by the spelling *nalles*.

² Corrigendum: This article, Table 1 Corpus (p. 404); *Orosius*, word count 5,111; read 51,110.

various negative constructions in a select corpus of 19 texts, which was planned in view of the various text types, dialects and periods of OE as indicated in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC). My corpus consists of continuous texts, both prose and glosses; no poetry is included.

The aim of the quantitative analysis is to uncover factors that explain the variation among the different negators in the constructions referred to above. The corpus (641,323 OE words), which covers approximately one fifth of the size of the prose part and glosses included in DOEC, is significantly larger and more versatile than the corpora used in earlier studies of OE negation, for example, Knörk (1907), Rauert (1910), and Schuchardt (1910). The corpus offers a basis for comparisons related to variation according to date (diachronic), dialect (diatopic) and text type (genre-based).

Part I of the thesis is comprised of five chapters. Chapter 1 consists of an outline of previous research into negative constructions in Old English. Chapter 2 introduces the concept of negation in logic and natural language. Chapter 3 is an introduction to the negators and scope of negation in Old English. It is divided into three subsections: sentence negation, constituent negation, and indirect means of negation. Chapter 4 introduces the data, corpus and methods used in this thesis. In chapter 5, I introduce the four varieties of negative constructions discussed in the individual articles and present the problems to be studied. These background chapters are followed by the four published articles (chapters 6–9) in Part II. Part III consists of a discussion based both on the introduction and the four articles in chapter 10, and the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the data in chapter 11. The four appendices include a summary of the corpus (Appendix 1), some morphological and etymological notes, mainly on the negators discussed in this thesis (Appendix 2), a diagram that indicates the number of negative forms per one thousand words in each text (Appendix 3), and a list of the negative spelling forms in my select corpus (Appendix 4).

1.2 Previous research into negative constructions in Old English

Affirmations and denials make an essential part of our daily interaction. Occasionally we decide to reject an offer or suggestion, and we resort to negation when we want to warn or advise someone. Denials, rejections, prohibitions and imperatives are examples of various ways of using negation in discourse. Given the vital role that these constructions play, it is little wonder that Seifert and Welte (1988) list 3,147 references to studies and articles on negation in various languages in their *Basic Bibliography of Negation*. Tajima's classified bibliography of *Old and Middle English Language Studies* (1988) contains 3,913 references, a

few of which are related to negation. In the next passage, I give an overview of the previous studies on the syntax of negation in OE. The earliest of them go back to the beginning of the 20th century.³

Early writers on negation in OE syntax build their classification of negative constructions on the placement of the negative element in a clause in both prose (Rauert 1910; Einenkel 1912) and verse (Knörk 1907; Schuchardt 1910). When the verb, and as a result the whole clause (*die ganze Aussage*), is negated, usually by the particle *ne* immediately preceding the finite verb form, negation is said to be qualitative. If the negative element occurs in some other position than immediately before the finite verb form, negation is considered quantitative.⁴

Rauert (1910: 3) applies this classification to data drawn from King Alfred's works, and creates the following four categories of the negative constructions in them (the citations are from his text): 1. pure qualitative negation (*Nur qualitative Negation*): **nat** ic hwæt ge sint,⁵ CP 27.23 'I know not what ye are'. 2. pure quantitative negation (*Nur quantitative Negation*): þonne wat ic swiðe lytel oððe **nanwiht**, Solil 66.16 'then I know little or nothing'.⁶ 3. qualitative and quantitative negation in one clause (*Qualitative und quantitative Negation nebeneinander*): **ne** mæg **nan** mon twam hlafordum hieran, CP 129.23 'no man can obey two masters', and 4. negative disjunction (*die negative Disjunktion*): Gif he me ðonne cuð **ne** bið, **ne nan** monn his hiredes CP 63.3 'If he is not known to me, or any man of his household'. Rauert succeeds in classifying the data into these categories, but his classification remains a synchronous description of negative clauses in King Alfred's works. Since he does not analyse the categories in detail, his dichotomy does not afford a basis for a diachronic analysis of negative constructions in OE (Mitchell 1985: §1597; see also Jespersen 1917: 69ff.). Not surprisingly, this classification has not been used in any major study on OE syntax after Einenkel's (1912) article.

Unlike the dichotomy of quantitative vs. qualitative negation, which turned out to be short-lived, Schuchardt's (1910) approach from the same period has proved to be more viable. What is new is that he distinguishes between constituent negation (*Wortnegation*), e.g. words

³ Wülfing (1894, 1901) lists numerous examples of various negators in his syntax of King Alfred's OE translations.

⁴ Jespersen (1917: 69) refers to some early studies based on this classification in Old Bohemian and Germanic languages. The classification goes back to Immanuel Kant's *Table of Categories*.

⁵ In the text, citations follow the spellings of DOEC. The translations of *Cura Pastoralis* are according to Sweet; those of Bede's *History* are according to Miller. For the editions, see the primary sources. The other PDE translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. The Latin text of the West Saxon Gospel passages is from the Vulgate (1969). For the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, the Latin text cited is from the DOEC.

⁶ Rauert (1910: 76) also includes instances of the negator *næfre* like the following in class 2 (pure quantitative negation): *Ond hie næfre bilwitlice willað monigean* 'and they never care to admonish them mildly' CP 145:1.

introduced by the prefix *un-*, *unfæger* ‘not beautiful’, *unclæne* ‘unclean’, and sentential negation (*Satznegation*) in his dissertation on negation in *Beowulf*. The categories *Wortnegation* and *Satznegation* indicate that he was familiar with the idea of the scope of negation even though he did not use the term. In modern studies on negation, the concept of scope of negation plays a central role.

By making a distinction between direct and indirect negation, Schuchardt (1910: 54ff.) shows that he understands the concept of negation in a wider sense than other scholars at that time. For direct negation, there are special words, such as *ne* ‘not’, *nalles* ‘not’, *nan* ‘none’, etc. This is how we usually understand the term negation. But there are also various other means of expressing negation, such as the words *butan* ‘without, except, unless’, *lyt* ‘little’, *þy læs* ‘that not, lest’, the prefix *or-*, and the suffix *-leas* ‘-less’. In such cases negation is said to be indirect (Schuchardt 1910: 54ff.). After Schuchardt, this dichotomy has hardly been referred to in studies on negation.⁷

The dichotomy of word negation vs. sentence negation was expanded early on by Jespersen (1917: 42ff.) in his classification of negative constructions into special and nexal negation (examples 1–2):

- (1) Not many of us wanted the war.
- (2) Many of us didn’t want the war.

In example (1), the negative notion belongs to one definite idea. In *Not many of us wanted the war*, the negation refers to *many of us*, giving *Not many of us* the near-synonymous sense of *few of us*. In nexal negation (2) the negative notion belongs to the combination of two ideas, i.e. nexus. The nexus is negated in *Many of us **didn’t want** the war*, (but others did), “which rejects the combination of the two ideas *many of us* and *want the war* and thus predicates something (though something negative) about *many of us*” (Jespersen 1917: 44). In modern grammars, Jespersen’s dichotomy is referred to by sentence/clause negation vs. constituent negation/local/phrasal negation, etc.

Jespersen was ahead of his time with his work *Negation in English and other Languages* (1917). In it he examines English negative constructions from synchronic and diachronic perspectives. He also makes comparisons between English and some other languages. I found his observations regarding the concept and scope of negation useful for my study.

⁷ For early studies on *butan*, see, for example, Varnhagen (1876), Mather (1894), and Shearin (1909).

Jespersen is best known for his model, often referred to as Jespersen's cycle, in which he describes the development of sentence negation in English. The model consists of the following five stages:⁸

1. *ic ne secge.*
2. *I ne seye not.*
3. *I say not.*
4. *I do not say.*
5. *I don't say.*

The first two stages describe the development of negative constructions in a declarative clause in the OE period. The starting point is the pattern *ic ne V(erb)*, or rather the pattern *ne V ic*, which is the common word order in a main clause. In both constructions the negator is placed immediately before the finite verb form, which normally stands in the initial position in a main clause (Andrew 1966 [1940]: 68; Mitchell 1985: §1599). At stage 2, a strengthening element, often the negator *na*, is added after the negated verb form, *ic ne V na*, or after the subject, *ne V ic na*.⁹ At stage 3, the preverbal particle *ne* is dropped.¹⁰ The auxiliary *do* goes back to the fifteenth century (Denison 1993: 265).

The cycle is based on the interplay of two tendencies, the weakening and strengthening of negation in a clause. Jespersen explains the sequence of five stages by referring to a “curious fluctuation” that he has found in various languages. According to him, the original negative adverb, which is often rather weakly stressed, “is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word” (Jespersen 1917: 4). He concludes that the “incongruity between the notional importance and the formal insignificance of the negative (often, perhaps, even the fear of the hearer failing to perceive it) may then cause the speaker

⁸ The spellings are from Jespersen (1917: 9–11).

⁹ The form *ic ne secge* does not occur in DOEC, whereas there are several examples of the forms *ne secge ic*, *ne secge ic na*, *ne wene ic*, and *ne wene ic na* etc. The negator *naht* (> PDE *not*), which occasionally occurs post-verbally, may still have its pronominal function in the OE period, *Ne cann ic naht on lacnunge* (ÆLS (Apollinaris) 41), ‘I know nothing about healing’, *Ne con ic noht singan; & ic forþon of þeossam gebeorscipe ut eode, & hider gewat, forþon ic naht singan ne cuðe* (Bede 342.29), ‘I cannot sing anything; and therefore I came out from this entertainment and retired here, as I know not how to sing’. Later, by the end of the ME period, “the use of *not* was virtually obligatory if there was no other negative element than *ne*” (Denison 1993: 450).

¹⁰ Jespersen also gives examples of the same kind of development of negative constructions in some other languages.

to add something to make the sense perfectly clear to the hearer” (Jespersen 1917: 5).¹¹

Double and multiple negation are common in Old English prose.

Jespersen’s cycle has been referred to in several contemporary studies (e.g. Ohkado 2005; Wallage 2008, Jäger (2008: 14–15), Mosegaard & Visconti 2014: 1–6). Vossen and van der Auwera (2014: 47–82) have applied it to negation in more than 400 Austronesian languages spoken on a vast area from Malagasy to the Easter Islands, and from Taiwan to New Zealand. They conclude that in some cases multiple negation among these languages can be interpreted in terms of the Jespersen cycle hypothesis. But Jespersen’s cycle has also been criticized and considered oversimplified (Breitbarth 2009: 81–114). Iyeiri (2001: 2) points out that the sequence of the model applies to simple clauses with the negators *ne* and *na*; however, negative constructions also show combinations of various other negators which Jespersen excludes from his presentation.¹² Larrivé (2011: 16) proposes that there is no such phenomenon as Jespersen’s cycle. This conclusion is based on his observations of negative constructions in various languages.

In accordance with the governing paradigm, research was also directed towards morphology and lexicon during the first few decades of the 20th century. Attention was focused on the spelling forms of special negators, such as *nefne*, *nemne*, *nymðe*, etc. ‘except, unless’.¹³ Various hypothetical forms and numerous explanations of the etymology of these forms have been proposed (e.g. Hempl 1894; Ritter 1907; Flasdieck 1950), but no consensus seems to have been achieved as to the origin of the forms, or whether there is a single word or several words behind the various spellings of the word. Mather (1894) concludes from the high frequency of the various forms of *nefne* in poetical texts that the forms are Anglian. His conclusion as to the Anglian origin of *nefne* is supported by several treatises (see Appendix 3, *nefne*). Menner (1947: 589) states that *nefne* is the best-known Anglian word occurring frequently in both prose and poetry, but not in Alfred, Ælfric or the WS Gospels. Mitchell and Robinson (1982: §168) conclude that the words *nefne*, *nemne* and *nymðe* are the Anglian equivalents of *butan* and that “we find them mostly in the poetry”.

Researchers’ interest in the morphology and etymology of the negators is also seen in the contents of various grammars, for example, Kaluza (1906), Wright & Wright (1961 [1908]), Sievers & Brunner (1951), Campbell (1959), and dictionaries, such as *Altenglisches*

¹¹ For the postverbal *not* in the structure *ne* V(erb) *not* in EME, see LaBrum 1982: 69f.

¹² The position of the strengthening element varies. Occasionally, it is placed immediately before the negated verb form: *We na ne wenen þæt we no þurh ða mænigfealdnesse ura gebeda syn gehyrede* (BenR 20.45.19) ‘We do not think that we are not heard through the multiplicity of our prayers’.

¹³ Here the spelling *nefne* refers to all the spellings of this word, see Appendix 2.

etymologisches Wörterbuch (Holthausen 1934). Studies on the various aspects of syntax are represented by Callaway (1918), Ericson (1930), Andrew (1966 [1940]), who includes an informative chapter regarding the position of the particle *ne* in OE prose, Whitaker (1968), van Kemenade (1999, 2011), and van der Auwera (2011). Liggins (1960) directs her attention to the expression of causal relationship in OE prose, while Levin (1956, 1958) focuses on two kinds of verb forms, namely contracted forms (*nis, nelle, næfde, nat*, etc.), in which the negative element *n-* is agglutinated to a verb, and uncontracted ones (*ne is, ne wille, ne hæfde, ne wat*, etc.). Levin (1958) concludes that the relative proportions of the contracted forms versus the uncontracted forms of these verbs are a dialectal indicator of OE prose. When a text employs contraction with such verbs “to the practical exclusion of noncontraction, it is West Saxon (later, West Midland or Southern); when it does not so use contraction, it is Anglian (later, East Midland or Northern)” (Levin 1958: 495).

Contemporary research has found evidence in favour of Levin’s conclusion. By resorting to a much larger data than Levin, van Bergen (2008a, 2008b) confirms that “Levin’s conclusion about negative contraction in OE was essentially correct; generally speaking, negative contraction is regular in WS and much more variable in Anglian” (van Bergen 2008b: 424). Ogura (2008) also considers the use of the contracted verb forms a dialectal indicator in OE. By using the whole corpus of Old English glosses, prose and verse, Ogura makes an attempt to find the factors, other than the dialectal distinction, which contribute to the choice between contracted and uncontracted verb forms. She concludes that the choice “may be based on collocation or style, and such examples are noted in both Alfredian and Ælfrician prose” (Ogura 2008: 328). Ogura also states that contraction shows a higher percentage in prose than in verse, which is probably due to metrical, chiefly alliterative, demands in the latter (*ibid.*).¹⁴

The treatises referred to above indicate that contemporary research into OE negation has mainly focused on the particle *ne* and sentential negation. But there are exceptions as well, such as the treatises by LaBrum (1982) and Mazzon (2004), who also direct their attention to negators other than the preverbal particle *ne*.

The researchers’ interest in OE syntax is seen at its best in the comprehensive works of Visser (1963–1975) and Mitchell (1985). Visser includes various negative constructions in his work, which provides an overview of the development of the English syntactical structures in the Old, Middle and Modern periods with an extensive collection of examples drawn from

¹⁴ For contraction of such verb forms in verse, see Blockley 1988, 1990, and Jack 1999. Blockley concludes that the choice between contracted and uncontracted verbs is made on a syntactic basis in verse.

various kinds of English texts.¹⁵ Mitchell's (1985) *Old English Syntax* in two volumes is a cornerstone in the study of Old English and is invaluable for anyone studying OE negative constructions, both in prose and verse. In addition to Mitchell's work, I also found LaBrum's (1982) and Mazzon's (2004) works useful for my thesis. Mazzon's findings encouraged me to tackle the controversial topic of negative raising. LaBrum's (1982: 40ff.) observations regarding contrastive constructions were also valuable. However, her conclusions are based on a small corpus.

The literature review above shows that we may even speak of a revival of interest in research into negation over the past twenty years or so. This may be due to the development of computer technology and corpus linguistic methods (Iyeiri 2005: 6). In contemporary studies the conclusions are not based on the qualitative description of the material alone; they are also supported by quantitative methods. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods on the same object of study, i.e. methodological triangulation (Cohen et al. 2003: 112–113; Angouri 2019: 41ff.), may be considered a Kuhnian paradigm shift in the diachronic study of OE negation.

2. *Negation in logic and natural language*

This chapter consists of an introduction to the notion of negation both in classical logic and natural language. The key concepts of scope of negation, sentence and constituent negation, and focus of negation are also included.¹⁶ Classical (Aristotelian) logic represents the earliest and simplest formal logic focusing on single-predicate propositions (e.g. *Mary is not happy*) that are either true or false (not true) (Allwood et al. 1981: 30; Tanesini & Leaman 2007: s.v. *negation*).¹⁷

In classical logic, negation implies an operation which forms a compound proposition not-*p* ($\sim p$) out of a simple proposition (*p*). In truth-functional logic, the truth value of the compound proposition is the opposite of the simple proposition it operates on (Allwood et al. 1979: 30). The propositions *p* and $\sim p$ form a contradictory pair, because only one proposition at a time may be true; if *p* (3) is true then $\sim p$ (4) is false and vice versa. Negation is recursive, so that the negation of $\sim p$ is equivalent to *p*.

¹⁵ Contemporary research into negation in OE poetry includes Miyabe's (1974), and Coombs's (1975) treatises, which focus on negative constructions in *Beowulf*. Coombs (1975, 1976) applies modern linguistic approaches to negation in her treatise on *Beowulf*. The other treatises on negation in various OE poems include Blockley (1988, 1990), Terasawa (2005), Ogura (2005), and Ohkado (2005).

¹⁶ This introduction is expanded with OE examples in chapter 3.

¹⁷ For a short summary of some other approaches to logical negation, see Brandtler (2006:177–204).

- (3) Mary is happy.
- (4) Mary is *not* happy.

Logical negation is univocal. It may be defined simply “as an operator changing the truth value of a proposition p to its opposite” (Miestamo 2017:405). The non-negative and the corresponding negative propositions (p and $\sim p$) include everything in existence, since any middle term is excluded.¹⁸ The rule of contradiction also holds; it is not true of any proposition p that it can be both true and not true.¹⁹

Aristotle makes a distinction between contradictories, p and not- p , and contraries,²⁰ i.e. terms that express the greatest degree of difference possible. Contraries do not exclude the middle (Parry & Hacker 1991: 216). On the lexeme level, the adjectives *impossible* and *possible* form a contradictory pair, whereas the adjectives *black* and *white* are contraries. There are white objects and black objects, but there are also (*grey*) objects that are neither white nor black (Jespersen 1917: 85; Horn 1978: 131). For a wide range of morphological (prefixal) negatives, the opposition is clearly contrary. We may have friends neither *happy* nor *unhappy*, neither *attractive* nor *unattractive*, events neither *expected* nor *unexpected*, etc. The prefix *non-* as well as often the Greek-derived *a(n)-* tend to specify contradictory negation, which is often distinguished from another, contrary negation of the same adjectival form, e.g. *immoral* vs. *amoral* (Horn 1978:132).

Other concepts related to contradictories and contraries include privatives, terms whose “definition signifies the absence or lack of a quality that is normally present” (Parry & Hacker 1991: 216). Such terms, for example, *sick* (lack of health) and *poor* (lack of wealth), are explicitly positive, since they have no negative prefix nor suffix (see also Zimmer 1964: 22).²¹ Privatives are of minor importance in classical logic.

¹⁸ This property of negation proves to be useful as a technical tool in Boolean searching, in which the exclusionary NOT operator is employed to exclude specific terms from the results of the search. Von Wright (1959: 3) distinguishes between strong and weak negation. Strong negation (negative affirmation or minus-affirmation) is an affirmation as well as a denial, whereas weak negation is “merely” a denial. He maintains that for a (subject-predicate) proposition and its strong negation the so-called law of the excluded middle does not hold. For weak negation there holds both the following law of the excluded middle, “it is true that any given proposition x is either true or not true”, and the following law of contradiction, “it is not true of any proposition that it is both true and not true” (von Wright 1959: 4, see also Zimmer 1964: 25).

¹⁹ For further discussion on contradictory relationship, and truth values in cases in which the subject of the proposition is nonexistent, see Horn (2001:15f.), Brandtler (2006:177–204), and Miestamo (2009:208f.).

²⁰ By definition, “two general terms are *contraries* [P&H] if and only if, by virtue of their meaning alone, they apply to possible cases on opposite ends of a scale. Both terms cannot apply to the same possible case, but neither may apply.” (Parry and Hacker (1991: 216).

²¹ In Aristotelian logic, negation is defined as a term “that has a negative prefix or suffix” (Parry & Hacker 1991: 215).

The change of truth value is the semantic core of negation in both propositional logic and natural language, but there are also essential differences between the two kinds of characterizations of negation (Allwood et al 1981: 31). The presence of the special logical operator makes negation univocal in classical logic, which deals with propositions, i.e. statements that can either be true or false. In such a proposition one single thing (*Mary*) is said (whether rightly or not) to have a single characteristic (*happy*) or predicate. Miestamo (2017: 405) points out that in natural language negation may be marked in a multitude of ways; it “enters into intricate interaction with various other functional domains; this interaction may result in complicated semantic and pragmatic effects that make the analysis of the meaning of negation quite a bit harder than simply noting the difference in truth value.”

In ordinary language, negative constructions can be classified roughly into two categories according to the scope of negation, i.e. “the part of a clause that is affected by negative meaning” (Biber (2013: 245). A negator may operate upon a whole clause, *the order was not perfect* (sentence negation), or upon one or more of its constituents (constituent negation), *the disorder was perfect* (Jespersen 1917: 44).²² Occasionally, the negated constituent consists of a phrase (5–7) (Klima 1964: 305–306):

- (5) He found something interesting there *not long ago*.
- (6) He had spoken with someone else *not many hours earlier*.
- (7) He married *a not unattractive girl*, and you did too.

The examples above indicate that natural language allows negation below the sentence level, whereas in propositional logic this is not possible. The proposition, which is of the type “Some S are P” (8), is affirmative, and is translated as p , though it includes the negative term *non-horses*, whereas proposition (9) is negative, and must be translated as $\sim p$, since it is of the type “Some S are not P” (Parry & Hacker 1991: 220). In other words, propositional logic ignores the prefix *non-*.

- (8) Some animals are *non-horses*.
- (9) Some animals are *not* horses.

There are also other expressions for negation in natural language that cannot be approached in classical logic. They include constructions in which a negator is used

²² Cf. Wortnegation in Schuchardt (1910).

independently to express an idea which is complete in itself. The scope of negation is confined to a single negator in the following instances (10–12) in which the negators are functionally equivalent to a whole clause:

(10) Do you smoke? – *No*, (No, I don't).

(11) Are you ready or *not*?

(12) He went there yesterday evening. – *No*, it is impossible.

In (10), the adverb *no* serves as a marker of negative polarity in response to the polar (*yes-no*) question *do you smoke?* *No* may stand alone, but occasionally it is accompanied by a phrase or a declarative clause for clarification. Example (11), which is a shortened version of the question *are you ready or aren't you ready?* consists of two alternatives. In this thesis, this kind of construction is referred to as a polar-alternative question.²³ In (12), *no* is an exclamation of disbelief or a kind of reaction signal (Quirk et al. 1985: 7.54) as a response to the statement *he went there yesterday evening*.

In natural language, the interpretation of a negative sentence is also related to the focus of negation. Quirk et al. (1985: 10.65) define the focus as a contrastive stress falling on a particular part of the clause, which “indicates that the contrast of meaning implicit in the negation is located at that spot, and also that the rest of the clause can be understood in a positive sense”. The scope and focus are interrelated in such a way that the scope must include the focus (*ibid.*). Sentence (14), *Mary didn't kiss Bill*, spoken with normal stress and intonation, represents the neutral negative of the sentence *Mary kissed Bill* (13). If Mary kissed Bill, sentence (14) is false, and vice versa. The intonation of example (15), where *Mary* is stressed, presupposes that someone else kissed Bill, whereas a stress on *Bill* (16) presupposes that Mary kissed someone else than Bill. In such instances, the interpretation of the sentence is related to the focus of negation, i.e. the part of the sentence that is most prominently negated. The system of propositional logic ignores the possibility of focusing on different constituents in a negated sentence by stress and intonation. Thus, each of these examples (14–16) are translated as $\sim p$ if *Mary kissed Bill* is p (Allwood et al 1981: 31):

(13) Mary kissed Bill.

(14) Mary *didn't* kiss Bill.

(15) MARY *didn't* kiss Bill.

²³ The term polar alternative also refers to a subordinate yes-no clause, such as *I don't care if they join us or not*.

(16) Mary didn't kiss BILL.

A complexity of meanings in constructions in which the negative element has been moved from the nominal clause to the matrix clause (Negative Raising, NR) cannot be captured in the formal representation of propositional logic, either. In such instances, the scope of negation stretches atypically over the proposition indicated in the subordinate clause (Miestamo 2009: 223). Sentence (17) has two interpretations, occasionally referred to as “the weak reading” (18), and “the strong reading” (19) (Fischer 1999: 57). According to the former, the negative element in the matrix clause refers to the nominal clause, where it logically and semantically belongs (Quirk et al. 1985: 14.36), thus making (17) more or less equivalent to (18) on the semantic level. “The weak reading” makes (17) milder and more polite than “the strong reading”, according to which the negative element refers to the matrix clause (19):²⁴

(17) I *don't* think that Alfred is fond of cakes.

(18) I think that Alfred is *not* fond of cakes.

(19) It is *not the case that* I think that Alfred is fond of cakes.

Quirk et al. (1985: 14.36) consider NR “an unclear phenomenon”. They point out that our intuitions may differ as to whether and to what degree two sentences, such as examples (17) and (18) with differently placed negatives are synonymous. The truth conditions of the sentences appear to be the same, but “their conditions of appropriateness in context are different” (Seuren 1978: 184). In short, the examples show that negation is not always unequivocal in natural language.

The position of the focus also signals the extent of scope in examples (20) and (21), which are from Quirk et al. (1985: 10.55). They explain the difference between the two: with more usual intonation, sentence (20) “allots a separate tone unit to each clause, and so places the *because*-clause outside the scope of negation”, whereas example (21) extends “a single tone unit over both, and places a contrastive fall + rise on *father*”. This results in placing the negative focus on the *because*-clause, so that the main clause is understood positively, as indicated by the interpretations in the brackets:

²⁴ Fischer (1999: 57) maintains that “only the context (and in spoken language the differences in intonation) can decide what is what”.

- (20) I didn't leave **home** because I was afraid of my **father**.
[Because I was afraid my father, I didn't leave home.]
- (21) I didn't leave home because I was afraid of my **father**.
[I left home, but it wasn't because of my father that I did so.]

Dahl (1977) resorts to classical logic and maintains that it is possible to give a relatively uncontroversial characterization of sentence negation in natural language. His definition is as follows:

[W]e thus formulate as a necessary condition for something to be called neg[ation] that it be a means of converting a sentence S_1 into another sentence S_2 such that S_2 is true whenever S_1 is false and vice versa.

In this definition, S_1 and S_2 are sentences in natural language (Dahl 1977: 2f.). For instance, in sentence (4) *Mary is not happy*, the means of converting the non-negative sentence (3) *Mary is happy* into a negative sentence is the negative marker *not*. In such an example Dahl's definition seems to work, but he is also well aware of its restrictions. The condition he states is necessary but not sufficient, because it does not distinguish among cases like the following. Most linguists would agree that only (22) qualifies as a negated sentence in the proper sense:

- (22) It is not raining.
(23) It is false that it is raining.
(24) It is not the case that it is raining.
(25) It is not true that it is raining.

A definition based on semantics also allows various sentences, such as *He failed to notice it*, *He missed the train*, and *Sue is absent* to be classified as negative. However, there is no negative marker in these examples. The lack of something, which is often in the background in semantic definitions of negation, is not a good basis for a definition either. This is seen in the following sentences (26–28):

- (26) He is *happy*.
(27) He is *not happy*. (lack of happiness, therefore negative)
(28) He is *not unhappy*. (lack of unhappiness, therefore not negative)

There are also various examples of implied negation, such as an expression with *too* and rhetorical questions. The clause, *she is too poor to give us anything* is more or less the

equivalent of *she cannot give us anything*. A notional negation is implied in some questions, though the sentence contains no negative proper: *Who cares* = *Nobody cares*, *Am I the guardian of my brother* = *I'm not ...*, and *Would you do better if you were in my place?* = *You wouldn't ...* (Jespersen 1917: 22f.; Curme 1931:140).

Klima (1964) points out that the traditional approach, where words or constructions intuited to be similar, e.g. *not*, *never*, are defined as negative, is not sufficient for a definition of negation in natural language. He does not give a list of negatives and describe their grammatical characteristics because, according to him, there are important limitations inherent in such tactics. We do not know “whether or not the groups selected and the relationships proposed are natural to the grammatical system as a whole” (Klima 1964: 247). Instead of analysing semantic oppositions, Klima gives the criteria according to which the class of sentence negation can be distinguished. The criteria include acceptability of *either tags*, *appositive tags* (e.g. *not even*), and *positive tag questions*. Thus the clauses (29a, 30a, 31a) below are sententially negated, the b variants are not:

- (29) a. *Mary isn't happy* and John isn't happy *either*.
b. *Mary is unhappy and John is unhappy *either*.
- (30) a. The attacks weren't successful, not even the last one.
b. *The attacks were unsuccessful, not even the last one.
- (31) a. It *isn't possible* to solve the problem, *is it?*
b. *It is impossible to solve the problem, *is it?*

Horn (1978:133) criticizes Klima's approach, because “the tests, however useful, prove to be insufficient for deciding the crucial cases, largely because they often give conflicting results”. Penka (2011: 4f.) states that Klima's tests for sentence negation are specific for English, and not applicable to other languages. In a diachronic study Klima's approach also has its limits. Since we do not have native informants, we do not know exactly what is natural to the grammatical system of OE as a whole.

In addition to the absolute negators discussed above, there are approximate negators (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 815–816), words that are negative in meaning, but not in appearance. Such adverbs and determiners that can affect clause negation include *seldom*, *rarely*, *scarcely*, *hardly*, and *barely*, *little* and *few* (in contrast to the positive *a little* and *a few*; Quirk et. al 1985: 10.59). Examples (32– 34) show that the approximate negators are followed

by nonassertive forms, and sentences in which they appear also accept a positive tag question.²⁵

(32) I seldom get *any* sleep.

(33) Hardly *anyone* wants the job.

(34) They hardly have any friends, *do they*?

Negation is a phenomenon of semantic opposition in both propositional logic and natural language. In logic, in which a special marker (a connective) changes the truth value of a proposition *p* to its opposite, negation is univocal. The examples above show that natural language is not in all respects the exact equivalent of negation in propositional logic. The plethora of various negative constructions makes a comprehensive definition of the notion impossible in natural language.

In this thesis, I resort to the traditional approach and define the words and constructions introduced by the element *ne* or the contracted form *n-* that is agglutinated to various stems as negative. The 11,282 instances of such elements in my select corpus represent 229 different spellings (see Appendix 4). The articles are based on a set of such lexemes, including the adverbs *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *nateshwon*, *næs*, *ne*, *nese*, and *nic*. Some occurrences of the prefix *un-* are also included.

3. OE negators and the scope of negation

Five common negators, namely *ne*, *na*, *naht*, *næs* and *nalles*,²⁶ can be translated by ‘not’. However, the words are not in free variation in OE prose. The particle *ne*, which mainly occurs before a verb form, is by far the most common of them.²⁷ The adverb *na*, which had lost its temporal meaning ‘never’ by the OE period, has various functions in prose. The negator *naht* is both a pronoun and an adverb in the OE period. *Næs* and *nalles* are mainly used to negate other parts of a sentence than the finite verb form.²⁸ In this section, I also introduce the negators *nese* ‘no’, and *nic* ‘no’, which are used as answer words to *yes-no* questions.

²⁵ The examples are from Quirk et al. (1985: 10.59).

²⁶ For the different spellings of these negators, see Appendices 2 and 4.

²⁷ For the conjunction *ne* ‘nor’, see Appendix 2.

²⁸ The adverb *næs* and the contracted verb form *næs* (< *ne* + *wæs*) are homonyms.

3.1 Sentence negation

3.1.1 Preverbal *ne* and *na*

The negative item immediately preceding a finite verb form in OE is normally the negator *ne*. The negated verb form is usually placed in the initial position, or as soon as possible in any independent clause, as in (35) and (36) (Mitchell 1985: §§1599 & 1618; Andrew 1966 [1940]: 68). The scope of negation extends over the whole clause, making it negative:

- (35) **Ne** bewerede Penda se <cyning> þon ma, gif hwelce men wolde in Mercna cynne Godes word læran, þæt heo ne mosten. (Bede 222.18)
‘King Penda did not refuse them permission anymore, if any would come to teach God’s word among the Mercian race.’
- (36) He **nolde** beon cyning, & his agnum willan he com to rode gealgan. (CP 33.19)
‘He did not want to be king, and of his own will he came to the cross.’

The initial position is not absolute. There are also instances like (37), in which the negated verb form is close to the end of the clause. The negator in the phrases ***ne þa teartan witu***, and ***ne ænige bendas*** is the connective *ne* ‘nor’, which is a homonym of the particle *ne*.²⁹ In subordinate clauses (38–39) the placement of the negated verb form varies.

- (37) ac uton nu clypian Crist us to gefylstan, and þa egeslican tintregu, **ne þa teartan witu, ne ænige bendas us ne beoð** to bealwe. (ÆLS Forty Soldiers 0027 (80))
‘but let us now call Christ to help us, and neither the awful tortures nor the sharp punishments, nor any bonds will be for our bale’. (Translation Skeat 1881)
- (38) Gif him mon þonne hyran **nelle**. (HomS 14 (BIHom 4) 169)
‘If they do not want to listen to them.’
- (39) gif he **ne wile** hine him to Gode gelyfan. (HomS 17 (BIHom 5) 7)
‘If he will not trust himself to God.’

Andrew (1966 [1940]: 68) points out that *na/no* cannot in “good prose” be used to negate the verb except in conjunction with the negative particle. According to him, the rare instances that he has found in the *Chronicle* and Ælfric’s *Homilies* are scribal errors. Mitchell (1985: §1618) concludes that *na/no* “is occasionally found negating finite verbs in the prose”. He gives five examples of *na/no* negating a finite verb form in the prose, and comes to the conclusion that even if one cannot accept Andrew’s conclusion on the occurrences being scribal errors to the extent that they need emending “we must admit that their rarity in the

²⁹ Cf. Jespersen’s (1917: 108) examples of the pattern *A* negative connective *B*, in which the connective is “looking before and after and rendering both A and B negative”, include *sud ne norð* (Beo 858) ‘neither south nor north’, and *wordum ne worcum* (Beo 1100) ‘neither by word nor work’.

prose makes their status dubious. Emphasis will not do as an explanation for such a spasmodic phenomenon.” (ibid.).

In the select corpus of this thesis, *na/no* occurs more than twenty times immediately before a finite verb form in subordinate clauses. There is no other negator in the clause in examples (40) and (41), (or Bede 88.19, 212.26, 408. 4, MtGl (Ru) 7.25, GDPref 1 (C) 6.16, GD 2 (C) 160.16, GDPref and 3 (C) 218.7 etc.):

- (40) & eac fela godra hama þe we genemnan **na** cunnan. (ChronA (Bately) 1001.19)
 ‘And also many other goodly manors of which we do not know the names.’
 (Translation Garmonsway 1984).
- (41) ðætte ða cwican **no** genihtsumedon þæt hi ða deadan bebyrigdan. (Bede 50.4)
 ‘that the living no longer sufficed to bury the dead’.

Some negators may occur alone without the particle *ne* before the finite verb form in the clause (Mitchell 1985: §1625). The examples include *næfre* ‘never’, the emphatic construction *nænge þinga* ‘by no means’, and *nower* ‘nowhere’, which also has the meaning ‘never’.³⁰ The whole clause becomes negative due to the occurrence of these negators in examples (42–44).

- (42) Ic seolfa cuðe sumne broðar, ðone ic wolde ðæt ic **næfre** cuðe. (Bede 442.9)
 ‘I myself knew a brother whom I should be glad never to have known.’
- (43) þa gewiton ealle þa wergan gastas onweg, þa ðe mec swencton & þrycton, & mec forleton & **nower seodþan** æteawdon. (Bede 186.14).
 ‘All the evil spirits who tormented and oppressed me departed, and they left me and never appeared afterwards.’
- (44) Gif hit **nænge þinga** to dæge beon mægge, ic halsio þætte ne sy long fæc bitweonum. (Bede 290.20)
 ‘If it absolutely may not be today, I entreat that there may be no long interval.’

The scope of negation does not normally extend over the clause boundary. But there are exceptions, such as (45), in which the particle *ne* is placed immediately before the finite verb form *com*. However, logically the negation belongs to the contrastive construction *not peace but sword*. According to Mitchell (1985: §1757), such constructions in which the negator is placed before “the wrong word” occasionally occur in the prose. In some instances the translation follows the source closely, as in *ne secge ic þe oð seofon siðas ac oð seofon*

³⁰ Similarly, the spelling *nahwær* ‘never’ in the following: *ond he ... nahwær sibban ætywde*. Mart 5 (Kotzor) (Au 25, A.9)

hundseofontigon siþon (Mt) WSCp 18.22 *non dico tibi usque septies sed usque septuagies septies*, ‘I do not say to you, seven times, but seventy-seven times’), and example (45) below, although example (46) shows that this is not always the case:

- (45) **Ne com** ic sybbe to sendanne ac swurd. (Mt (WSCp) 10.34)³¹
 ‘I did not come to bring peace, but a sword.’
- (46) **Ne cwæð he na þæt forþig þe** him gebyrode to þam þearfon **ac forþam þe** he wæs þeof. (Jn (WSCp) 12.6)³²
 ‘He did not say this because he cared about the poor but because he was a thief.’

The negator also seems to be placed before “the wrong word” in the following complex sentences (47–48). However, they differ from (45) and (46) above. In these sentences the negative element which has been raised to the matrix clause can be interpreted as the negation of the subordinate clause predicate. Transfer of negation is possible with certain verbs denoting belief and assumption, such as *gelyfan* ‘believe’, *þyncan* ‘seem’, *wenan* ‘think’, and also the verb *willan* ‘want’. Such constructions may be compared with (49) in which the negation is in its logical place in the nominal clause.

- (47) **Ne wene ic**, cwæð Orosius, **þæt ænig wære** þe þæt atellan mehte þæt on ðæm gefeohte gefeoll. (Or 3 11.81.26)
 ‘I do not think, said Orosius, that there is anyone who could count those who fell in that battle.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)
- (48) **Ne gelyfe ic na þæt hyt æfre geweorðe** þæt me nanwiht ne lyste þisse weorlde ara, buton an ðing gewirðe. (Solil 1 47.19)
 ‘I do not believe that it will ever be that I shall not yearn at all after this world’s honours, unless one thing happen.’ (Translation Hargrove 1904)
- (49) **Ic wene**, cwæð Orosius, **þæt nan wis mon ne sie**, (Or 2 1.35.28)
 ‘I think,’ said Orosius, ‘that there is no wise man,’

In chapter 2 I referred to Quirk et al. (1985: 14.36), who consider negative raising (NR) “an unclear phenomenon” in PDE. The phenomenon becomes more diffuse when it is studied diachronically. In PDE the intonation pattern may have a bearing on the interpretation of a sentence in spoken language, whereas in a study of OE structures we cannot benefit from native informants, or determine with any certainty the intonation patterns and degree of stress in OE prose (Mitchell 1985: §315; Mitchell 2004: §42; Hiltunen 2016: 92).

³¹ non veni pacem mittere sed gladium.

³² dixit autem hoc non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum sed quia fur erat.

The question whether there are examples of NR in OE has been a controversial one. Traugott (1992: 271) contends that there do not appear to be true examples of transfer of negation in OE, even though there are some similar-looking constructions among contrastive constructions³³. Fischer (1999: 85–86) agrees, arguing that we do not have evidence for the existence of NR in the Old English period. Examples (47) and (48) indicate that there are complex sentences which can be interpreted as examples of NR. Mazzon (2004: 40) also refers to a few instances with the verbs *gelyfan*, *wenan* and *willan* in constructions that she labels NR. It seems that in some cases our intuitions may agree on the interpretation of a complex sentence with matrix clause negation in OE. Bublitz (1992: 568), whose interest is mainly the verb *think* in PDE, and Fischer (1999: 57) consider the interpretation of such a clause less ambiguous in instances in which the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular. In my analysis of the verbs *wenan*, *willan*, *gelyfan* and *þyncan* in complex sentences in OE prose, I mainly focus on sentences where the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular.

It is a well-known fact that very often there are two or even more negators in one clause in OE. Contrary to the rules of propositional logic, the negators in OE texts do not cancel each other out. Extra negators are merely redundant, or they may be used to strengthen negation. Jespersen's cycle shows that double negative constructions have had a central role in the development of the negative clauses in the history of English. According to Jespersen (1917: 71–72), repeated negation becomes a habitual phenomenon in languages “in which the ordinary negative element is comparatively small in regard to phonetic bulk, as *ne* and *n-* in OE”.

In double negative constructions one of the negators is typically the particle *ne*, while the other is an adverb, such as *na* ‘not’, or *naefre* ‘never’, or a pronoun that can take the element *n-*, for example *nan*, ‘no, none’, *naenig* ‘no, none’, or *naht* ‘nothing’, etc.³⁴

Sentence (50) consists of a pair of coordinated clauses. In the first part of the sentence, the strengthening element *na* belongs to the verb phrase *ac hit ne bærneþ na*; in the second part, the construction consists of the connective *ne* ‘nor’ and the negated verb form *ne cwylmeþ*. After elision of the subject *hit* the pattern *ne hit ne cwylmeþ* becomes *ne ne cwylmeþ* (cf. Andrew 1966 [1940]: 68). In sentence (51), there are two negative forms, the contracted verb form *nelt* (*ne* + *wilt*) and the pronoun *nan*.

³³ She gives two examples of such constructions: CP 401.11, and ÆCHom i 359.132.

³⁴ This also applies to multiple negation.

According to Alsenoy and van der Auwera (2014: 13–14), examples like these represent different types of double negative constructions, namely double clausal negation (50), and negative concord (NC) (51). They state that the two types are separate phenomena. “In double negation, there are two clausal negation markers (e.g. *ne* and *pas* in French), but in NC at least one negation is marked on a pronoun or an adverb of time, place, or manner,” like the pronoun *nan* in sentence (51):

- (50) ac hit [hellefyr] **ne** bærneþ **na ne ne** cwylmeþ anum gemete ealle þa synfullan.
(GDPref and 4 (C) 45.333.16)
‘But it does not burn nor torment all sinners in one manner.’
- (51) Soðlice **nelt** ðu **nan ðing** yfeles habban. on ðinum æhtum. (ÆCHom ii 410.14)
‘Thou wilt not forsooth have anything evil in thy possessions.’ (Translation Thorpe 1846–1848)

Here the terminology seems to vary. According to the Yale Grammatical Diversity Project, negative concord, popularly known as double or multiple negation, “is a phenomenon in which more than one negative element occurs in a sentence, but the sentence is interpreted as only being negated once” (Yale 2019). Nevalainen (2006: 257) states that NC “can be defined as the use of two or more negative morphemes in a clause to convey a single negation”. Mazzon (2004: 37) refers to the Neg-Concord rule, which states that “the negator is ‘copied’ or repeated on all elements in the clause which are capable of incorporating it”.³⁵

Jespersen (1917: 58) suggests that whenever “there is logically a possibility of attracting the negative element to either of two words, there seems to be a universal tendency to join it to the first”, as in example (51). Sentence (52) is contrary to this tendency. In this special type of clause, the author avoids the principle of NC by using the non-negative form of the indefinite pronoun *ænig*. Mazzon (2004: 37–38) labels patterns like (52) as instances of “Avoided Negation”.

- (52) & **ænig** man heonan forð cyrican **ne ðeowige** (LawVAtr 10.2)
‘and let no man henceforth reduce a church to servitude’.

LaBrum (1982: 158ff.) gives a few examples of such patterns in prose, especially in Wulfstan’s *Homilies*. Further studies are needed in order to find out the contexts and

³⁵ Davis (1970: §97) follows such a rule by stating that in a negative sentence the negator *ne* is prefixed to every finite verb in OE, “and, in addition, to every word which may have a contracted negative form”. This, however, is too categorical, cf. example (52). For examples of negative concord in PDE, see Anderwald (2005).

conditions in which these patterns typically occur, and how they vary with other patterns, such as *ne wæs ænig*, *nænig (ne) wæs*, *nan (ne) wæs*, etc.

The prevalence of double and multiple negation varies in prose texts. Jespersen (1917: 64) refers to *Apollonius of Tyre* as an example of texts with numerous negative constructions, in which a negated verb form is nearly always accompanied by negative pronouns or adverbs introduced by the element *n-* (*nan*, *naht*, *naðer*, *nahwær*, etc.). Nishimura (2005: 87) has noticed that the avoidance of multiple negation became almost a norm in fifteenth-century legal texts, which is in accordance with Rissanen's (2000: 125) observations on legal documents in Late Middle English and Early Modern English. This implies that variation between single and double/multiple negation may be genre-based. It is an open question how much of double and multiple negation in OE prose can be explained by text type in legal or other documents.

3.1.2 Negators used independently

In chapter 2, I referred to three kinds of constructions, namely answers to *yes-no* questions, polar-alternative questions, and negators as signal words, in which a negator is used independently to express an idea that is complete in itself. In OE, there are various ways of expressing negation in such constructions. Ælfric provides the following examples, (53) and (54), of the two low frequency negators *nese* 'no', which is the antonym of *gese* (*gise*) 'yes' (Kisbye 1971: 183), and *nic* 'no', which is a shortened form of *ne ic* 'not I' (Hogg 1992: 5.152). In (55) the response is introduced by *na* (PDE 'no') in answer to a negative yes-no question:³⁶

- (53) Wylt ðu ðis? (Uis hoc?) – **Nese** (Non). (ÆGram 226.5) –
'Will you have this?' – 'No.'
- (54) Wylt ðu fon sumne hwæl? (Uis capere aliquem cetum?) – **Nic** (Nolo). (ÆColl 109)
'Would you like to catch a whale?' – 'No.'
- (55) Lareow, ne ofþingð hit ðe gif ic þu wer geceose? Apollonius cwæð: **Na** ac ic blissige swiðor ðæt þu miht [. . .] þe silf on gewrite gecyðan hwilcne heora þu wille. (ApT 20.6)
'Master, will it not vex thee if I thus choose a husband? Apollonius said: No; but I shall much more rejoice that thou, [. . .], canst thyself in writing show which of them thou wilt.'³⁷

³⁶ *Nese* does not outlive the OE period (Kisbye 1971: 183). *The Middle English Compendium* (MEC 2019) yields one match of *nich* (*nik*) < OE *nic* in *The Owl and the Nightingale* (c. 1275 (1250?)).

³⁷ The translation is Thorpe's (2013 [1834]).

Occasionally, the response consists of a declarative clause without any independent negator, see examples (56) or (57). Example (56) gives a literal translation of the response of the source, but the translator may also modify the text, for example, by adding a declarative clause in the response. The construction is similar to responses in PDE in (58) and (59):

- (56) Dydest ðu ðis? (fecisti hoc?) – **lc ne dyde** (non feci). (ÆGram 226.4)³⁸
 ‘Did you do this? – I did not do (it).’
- (57) eart ðu Elias – & he cwæð, **ne eom ic hit** (Jn (WSCp) 1.21)³⁹
 ‘Are you Elias? – And he said, I am not.’
- (58) cwyst ðu, eart ðu of ðyses leorningcnihtum; ða cwæð he, **nicc ne eom ic**. (Jn (WSCp) 18.17)⁴⁰
 ‘Aren’t you one of this man’s disciples? then he answered, no, I am not.’
- (59) Wast ðu hwæt ðas þing ealle seon, ðe þu sceawadest & gesawa? – Andswarode ic him: **Nese**, cwæð ic, **ne wat ic heo**. (Bede 430.27)⁴¹
 ‘Do you know what all these things are, which you have seen and beheld? – I answered him: ‘No,’ said I, ‘I know them not.’

Nese may also occur independently as a reaction signal, see example (60). The duplication of the negator accompanied by the element *la* ‘lo!, behold!, oh!’ makes *nese* an interjection (see e.g. Solil 2 61.16).⁴²

- (60) hig habbað Moysen & witegan; hig hlyston him. Ða cwæð he, **nese** fæder Abraham, ac hig doð dædbote gif hwylc of deaðe to him færð (Lk (WSCp) 16.29)
 ‘They have Moses and the prophets, let them listen to them – He said, No, father Abraham, but they will repent if anyone risen from the dead goes to them.’

In a polar-alternative question the negator is either *na* or a negated verb form (61–62). The scope of negation is confined to the negator *na*. In (62), the ellipsis of the second part of the coordinated pair (cf. *is alæfed ... oppe nis alæfed*), explains the contracted verb form *nis*, which may be translated simply as ‘not’.

- (61) An munuc com and gyrnde mire dehter; sylle ic hi him **oððe na** (LS 35(VitPatr) 77)
 ‘A monk came and yearned for my daughter; shall I give her to him, or not?’

³⁸ The verb of the question is also repeated in the following non-negative answer: *Wilt ðu þæt ic ga & clipie þe an Ebreisc wif þæt þis cild fedan mæge? – Ða andswarode heo, & cwæp: Ga!* (Ex 2.7; Do you want me to go and get a Hebrew woman to nurse the baby? – Then she answered and said: Go!) cui soror pueri vis inquit ut vadam et vocem tibi hebraeam mulierem quae nutrire possit infantulum [8] respondit vade.

³⁹ Helias es tu et dicit non sum.

⁴⁰ numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius dicit ille non sum.

⁴¹ “Scis, quae sint ista omnia, quae uidisti?” Respondi ego: “Non.” (CM)

⁴² Ða cwæð ic: **nese, la nese; ne nawer neah**. (Solil 2 61.16; ‘Nay, verily nay; nowhere near.’ (translation Hargrove 1904).

- (62) is alæfed to sellane gæfel kasere **oþþe nis**. (MtG1 (Ru) 22.17)⁴³
 ‘Is it right to give tribute tax to Caesar, or not?’

These three types of constructions have essential functions in dialogues. They show the means of expressing refusal, denial and dissent in OE. However, they have not been discussed in detail in the literature. Wülfing (1901: 290) mentions a few examples of the adverb *nese* in answers to *yes-no* questions, and the interjection *nese la nese* ‘oh no’, but his corpus is confined to King Alfred’s works. Einkenel (1916: 78) and Nusser (1913: 157) make some references to the polar-alternative questions. Mitchell (1985: §1234) considers the negators *nese* and *nic* interjections.⁴⁴ In my article on negators as equivalents of a clause (see Article III), I focus on these negators and these constructions.

3.2 Constituent negation

The special negators *naht*, *næs* and *nalles*,⁴⁵ and occasionally the adverb *na*, are used to negate words (other than a finite verb form) and phrases. They can all be translated by ‘not’, but they are not in free variation in OE prose.⁴⁶ In this section, I introduce two important constructions, adverbial phrases of time and place, and contrastive constructions,⁴⁷ in which these negators occur.

3.2.1 Adverbial phrases of time or place

A special negator, or the prefix *un-* introduces an adverbial phrase of time or place in the following instances (63–66), in which the negation is confined to the time span *nales æfter micelre tide* (*post non multum tempus*), *naht lang ær þyssum* (*non longe ante hoc*) or the distance, *unfeor fram lande* (*non enim longe erant a terra*), and *naht feor fram þære cestre* (*haud procul a castello*), while the rest of the clause, including the predicate verb, remains outside the scope of negation. The translations follow the source in (63–65); in (66) negation

⁴³ licet dare census cessari an non.

⁴⁴ In his classification, Mitchell (1985: §1234) refers to Mustanoja (1960: 621) and Offerberg (1967) by stating that an interjection is a word that is “functionally equivalent to a whole sentence, i.e., it expresses an idea which is complete in itself.” Offerberg (1967) does not include discussion on Old English negators in her study of Old English interjections. I am much obliged to her for her kindness for posting me a copy of the proofread version of her licentiate thesis after the University library in Stockholm had informed me that her thesis had disappeared from its collections.

⁴⁵ For the different spellings of these negators, see Appendix 2 and 4.

⁴⁶ The adverb *næs* and the contracted verb form *næs* (< *ne* + *wæs*) are homonyms.

⁴⁷ LaBrum (1982: 111ff.) examines the deep and surface structures of adverbial phrases and applies her approach to OE and EME examples.

in the Latin is expressed by the particle *haud*, mainly used to negate single words and phrases (OLD s.v. *haud*):⁴⁸

- (63) Ac heo **nales æfter micelre tide**, þæs þæ þæt mynster getimbred wæs, gewat to þære ceastre, þe in Englisc is gehaten Kwelcaceaster. (Bede 332.27)⁴⁹
 ‘But she, soon after the monastery was erected, withdrew to the town which in English is called Tadcaster.’
- (64) þæt se arwyrþa wer Stephanus se abbod, se forðferde in pissere ilcan byrig **naht lang ær þysum**, ..., se me sæde. (GDPref and 4 (C) 275.22)⁵⁰
 ‘That the venerable man, Stephen, the abbot, who died in this city not long since ... said to me ...’
- (65) hi wæron **unfeor fram lande**. (Jn (WSCp) 21.8)⁵¹
 ‘They were not far from land.’
- (66) Ys on Bretonelande sum fenn unmætre mycelnysse, þæt onginneð fram Grante ea, **naht feor fram þære cestre**. (LS 10.1 (Guth) 3.1)⁵²
 ‘In Britain there is a fen of immense size, which begins from the river Grant, not far from the castle.’ (Translation Gonser 1909)

Occasionally, the OE translator resorts to an approximate negator⁵³ and expresses the shortness of the time span by *lytel* ‘little, short (distance, time), not much’, or *feawa* ‘few’, as in the following instances (67–69): *æfter feawum dagum* (*non post multos dies*), *for lyttlum fyrste* (*ante non longum tempus*), and *æfter lytlum fæce* (*non multo post*). The examples show how the OE constructions vary in the two manuscripts of *Gregory’s Dialogues*:

- (67) Ða **æfter feawum dagum** [**æfter naht manegum dagum** MS C] ferde se Godes þeow hwon feorr fram þam mynstre. (GD 1 (H) 28.16)⁵⁴
 ‘Then not many days after, the servant of God travelled a little farther away from the monastery.’
- (68) Ðyses weres hiwcuðesta wæs Iulianus ure ciricean mundbora, se nu **for lyttlum fyrste** [**unfyrn** MS C] on þysre byrig wearð forðfered. (GD 1 (H) 71.12)⁵⁵

⁴⁸ The form *nehuarne* (< *ne hwær ne* ?, Cook 1894, s.v. *nehuarne*) occurs once: *wæs uutedlice nehuarne long from him l ðæm* [**unfeor** Mt (WSCp)] *suner berga monigra gefoede* (MtG1 (Li) 8.30; ‘And there was a good way off from them a herd of many swine feeding’; *erat autem non longe ab illis grex porcorum multorum pascens*).

⁴⁹ Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur. (CM 406.31).

⁵⁰ quod vir venerabilis abbas Stephanus, qui non longe ante hoc in hac orbe defunctus est, ..., in eadem provincia Nursiae contegisse referebat. (UM 243.3)

⁵¹ non enim longe erant a terra.

⁵² ... *haud* procul a castello. (Quoted from Gonser 1909: 113)

⁵³ Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 788) include *little* and *few* in their list of approximate negators. Jespersen (1917: 39–40) labels *little* and *few* incomplete or approximate negatives.

⁵⁴ cum non post multos dies isdem Dei famulus pro exortandis ad desideria superna fidelibus paulo longius a cella digressus est (UM 29.13).

⁵⁵ huius viri familiarissimus fuit Iulianus nostrae aeccliesiae defensor, qui ante non longum tempus in hac orbe defunctus est (UM 58.16).

‘He was acquainted with Julianus, the guardian of our church, who died not a long time ago in this city.’

- (69) *ƿa æfter unmycelum fæce* [*æfter lytlum fæce* MS C] he becom to Rome. (GD 2 (H) 133.7)⁵⁶

‘Then after not a long time he arrived in Rome.’

The variants *æfter feawum dagum*/*æfter naht manegum dagum* and the like give the reader a clue of the sometimes fuzzy meaning of the phrase introduced by a special negator, as in *he diacones þegnunge under him bræc: naht fea tide* (Chad 225), in which the adverbial ‘not a short time’ closely follows Latin *non pauco tempore*. In a very similar instance in Bede’s *History*, namely *Wæs se Wynnferð of þæs biscopes geferscipe, þæm he eft æfterfylgde, ond under him diaconðegnunge micelre tide brucende wæs*⁵⁷ (Bede 272.16; ‘et diaconatus officio sub eo non pauco tempore fungebatur’), the time adverbial is translated by *micelre tide* ‘a long/considerable time’.

The phrase *naht fea tide* is an example of litotes, i.e. an expression in which an idea is expressed by the denial of its opposite (Ingersoll 1978: 11–12; cf. Latin *negatio contrarii* in Hoffmann 1987: 42).

The examples above indicate that the patterns of time adverbials vary, which is illustrated by Figures 1 and 2. The adverb *naht* mainly modifies a noun phrase (NP) that is embedded in a prepositional phrase (PP) (Figure 1). Examples of this pattern include *æfter noht mycele fyrste* (BedeHead 22.33; “*nec multo post*”), *æfter noht/naht manegum dagum* (GDPref and 3 (C) 225.29,⁵⁸ LS23 (Maryof Egypt) 390, and 771), *æfter noht longre tiide* (Bede 420.18; “*non longo post tempore*”), and *æfter naht feala daga* (LS30 (Panteleon) 96).

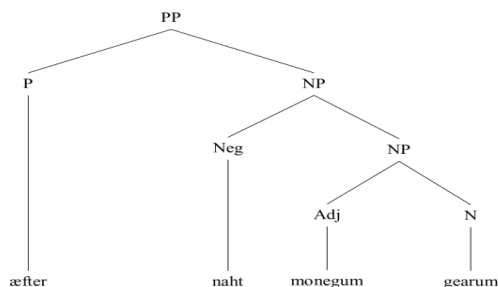


Figure 1. The pattern *æfter naht monegum gearum*

⁵⁶ cum non multo post Romam adiit (UM 102.13).

⁵⁷ Wynfrid was one of the clergy of the bishop, whom he succeeded, and discharged the duties of deacon under him for a considerable time.

⁵⁸ There is no negator in this passage in DOEC: & ƿa æfter [**noht**, Hecht’s edition] manegum dagum se calda fæder wæs mid feferadle geswanced. (GDPref and 3 (C) 225.29). In Hecht’s edition, and in the source, there is negation: cum **non post multo dies** senex pater, febre praeuentus, ad extrema peruenit (UM 192.13).

In the following pattern, the prefix *un-* attached to the adjective *mycle* ‘much’, or *manig* ‘many’, takes the same position as *naht* (examples (69), (70), and *æfter unmanegum gearum* Bede 448.17).

- (70) Ða gelomp **æfter unmonegum gearum**, þætte Penda Mercnacynig cwom mid Mercna here in þa stowe. (Bede 204.13)⁵⁹
‘It happened after not many years that Penda, the King of the Mercians, came to that place with the Mercian host’.

Instances in which *nalles* introduces a prepositional phrase have a different syntactic pattern (Figure 2). The adverb *nalles* occurs in this position in example (71), and in the following instances in Bede’s *History*: *nales æfter micelre tide* (*post non multum tempus* (Bede 332.27), *non multo ... tempore* (Bede 142.12)), *nales*⁶⁰ *æfter micelre tide* (*non multo post* (Bede 8.9)), *nalas æfter miclum fæce* (*non multo post* (Bede 378.1)), and *nalæs æfter miclum fæce* (*non multo post* (Bede 456.30)).

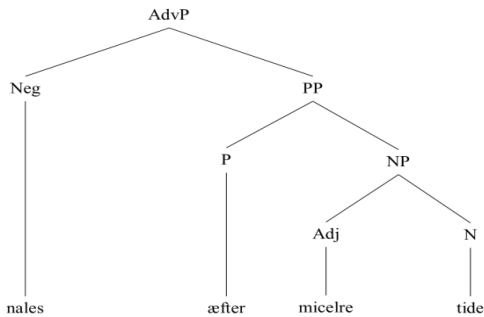


Figure 2. The pattern *nalæs æfter micelre tide*

- (71) Forðon **nalæs æfter myclum fæce** grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan þeode þæs grimman mannes wæs æfterfyligende. (Bede 50.7)⁶¹
‘Therefore after no long time direr vengeance for their dire sin overtook this depraved people.’

To sum up, on the basis of Figures 1 and 2 it may be concluded that in my select corpus *nalles* and *naht/un-* are in complementary distribution⁶² in time adverbials, such as *after noht*

⁵⁹ Contigit autem post aliquot annos, ut Penda Merciorum rex, cum hostili exercitu haec in loca perueniens... . (CM 264.13).

⁶⁰ The spelling *nales* is according to Miller’s edition.

⁶¹ Unde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est. (CM 48.21).

⁶² “Two elements *a* and *b* are in complementary distribution if *a*, but not *b*, occurs in those environments where on general grounds we may expect both *a* and *b*, while *b*, but not *a* occurs in the complementary set of environments” (Kerstens et al. 2019).

monegum gearum/ nales æfter micelre tide.⁶³ The adverb *naht* and the prefix *un-* are in free variation in time adverbials, such as *æfter unmonnegum/naht monegum gearum* and *æfter unmycelum fæce/æfter noht mycele fyrste*.

The particle *ne* does not normally modify a phrase in the prose. Examples, such as *ond ne æfter monigum dagum* (LkGl (Ru) 15.13), and *ne æfter menigum dagum* (LkGl (Li) 15.13; ‘*et non post multos dies*’), are atypical and belong to the glosses. By way of contrast, a finite construction is possible, but here *ne* is part of the verb phrase (72):

- (72) **Ne wæs þa long fæc** æfter þætte se grimma witedom þæs biscopes wæs gefylld.
(Bede 198.11)⁶⁴
‘Not long after the dire prophesy of the bishop was fulfilled.’

Adverbial phrases in which the shortness of time or distance is expressed by the denial of its opposite are often introduced by the adverbs *naht*, or *nalles*, or the prefix *un-*. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate how the patterns in which the negator is the adverb *nalles* differ from those in which the negator is either *naht* or the prefix *un-*. The translations seem to follow the source closely. I examine the use of special negators in such phrases in a separate article (see Article I). Special attention is paid to litotes. The article focuses on diatopic, diachronic and genre-based variation. No systematic comparison of the OE translations and the source are included, but references to the Latin original have been made when appropriate.

3.2.2 Contrastive constructions

In this thesis, constructions in which the negator *na*, *nalles* or *næs* is used to introduce and modify an element, a word or a phrase, contrastive with a parallel positive element are referred to as negative contrastive constructions.⁶⁵ The notion of contrast is used broadly to refer to the “difference or degree of difference between things having similar or comparable natures” (M-W, s.v. *contrast*). This interpretation of contrast covers the categories of opposition (true/false), antonymy (high/low) and complementaries (male/female) (Lyons 1993: 279; see also Mettinger 1994 *passim*). Contrast that refers to relations between items in a clause is closely related to the notion of focus, i.e. the point which receives some prominence in the clause (Molnár 2002: 148; Repp 2010: 1335). The negator *na*, *nalles* or

⁶³ The negator *naht* occurs in the following before *æfter*, see DOEC: *Ne naht æfter VII kalendas maii eastortid gewurðan sceal*. (Comp 1.2.2 (Henel) 1.1).

⁶⁴ Nec multo post dira antistitis praesagia tristi regis funere, de quo supra diximus, impleta sunt. (CM).

⁶⁵ Cf. contrastive statements (Jespersen 1917: 45), contrastives (LaBrum 1982), negative-contrastive constructions (Gates & Seright 1967: 136–141), negative-contrasting construction (Busquets 2006: 166), and contrastive negation (Silvennoinen 2019).

næs is positioned either in the first or the second half of the coordinated pair in the following sentences (75–78). The scope of negation is confined to the constituent following the negator. The conjoins, nouns, adjectives and phrases, are coordinated either *asyndetically* (73) or *syndetically* (74–76) by the conjunction *and* or *ac*:

- (73) Heo wæs **ful** cweden **næs æmetugu**. (HomU 18 (BIHom 1) 22)
‘She was called ‘full’, not ‘empty’.’
- (74) for þan ðe he wæs **godes bydel. & na god**. (ÆCHom I, 380.51)
‘for he was God’s messenger, and not God’.
- (75) **mid mannum** hit is unæpelic **ac na mid Gode**. (Mk (WSCp) 10.27)⁶⁶
‘With men it is impossible, but not with God.’
- (76) & eac þæt we on Norðanhymbrum geacedon ymbe Cristes geleafan oð ðysne andweardan dæg, **nalæs mid anes mannes geþeahhte ac mid gesægene unrim geleaffulra witenas**. (BedePref 4.24)
‘And what we have ascertained about the faith of Christ in Northumbria up to the present day, not on the authority of a single person, but [instead] from the statements of numberless faithful witnesses.’

The coordinated pair may also consist of two clauses (77–79). In sentence (79) the negation refers to the subclause, which could be written as follows: *he com na to þy þæt he wære on mærlicum cyne setle ahafen, ac þæt* However, Ælfric places the negation in the main clause:

- (77) þeahhwæpere **na swa swa** ic wylle **ac swa swa** þu wylt. (Mt (WSCp) 26.39)⁶⁷
‘Yet not as I will, but as you will.’
- (78) Ac þæs wundrodon men **na for ði** þæt hit mare wundor wære. **ac for ði** þæt hit wæs ungewunelic. (ÆCHom I, 277.56)
‘But men wondered at this, not because it was a greater wonder, but because it was unusual.’
- (79) **Ne com he to þy þæt** he wære on mærlicum cyne setle ahafen: **ac ðæt** he wære mid hospe on rodehengene genæglod. (ÆCHom I, 219.84)
‘He came not that he might be exalted on a pompous throne, but that he might with contumely be nailed hanging on a cross.’ (Translation Thorpe 1846–1848)

LaBrum (1982: 42ff.) also includes the paired conjunction *not only X ... but also Y* in her category of ‘contrastives’. The addition of the element *only* in the first conjoin has a dramatic effect: the meaning of *not only X ... but also Y* is additive, like that of *both ... and* (Quirk et al. 1985: 13.42). In this pattern, the contrast is between *X* alone, versus the

⁶⁶ apud homines impossibile est sed non apud Deum.

⁶⁷ non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu.

combination of *X and Y*. The paired conjunction links parallel words, phrases and clauses, and is used to emphasize that *Y* occurs in addition to *X*. LaBrum (1982: 48–49) concludes that the negator *nalles* is characteristic of this type of contrastive negation, especially in King Alfred’s time, but she has found no examples of this parallel conjunction in Ælfric. However, her conclusions are based on a very small corpus.

Expressions of the type, *not only A ... but also B*, are very often constructed by a special negator, *na*, *nalles*, *næs* or *næs na*, followed by the phrase *þæt an*, which may refer directly to a noun, pronoun, adjective or verbal action. The phrase *þæt an* refers to the following subclause beginning with the conjunction *þæt* in examples (80–81) in which the construction translates the Latin *solummodo*, *tantum(mod)*, etc. (Rissanen 1967a: 177ff., and 1967b).⁶⁸ Rissanen (1967b: 409–411) has observed that this construction does not occur in the *OE Chronicle* or in the Anglo-Saxon charters, but it is fairly common in texts that are translations from Latin. The particle *ne* does not occur in such patterns, except in the glosses, as in example (82):

- (80) **nales þæt an** þæt he ðone wreccan to cwale ne gesealde, **ac eac swylce** him gefulltumade. (Bede 132.2)⁶⁹
‘He not only did not give up the exile to death, but also aided him in attaining to the throne.’
- (81) **þæt næs na þæt an** þæt heo wæs ungewunelic **ac eac swilce** uncuð þam landleodum him sylfum. LS 23 (Mary of Egypt) 130
‘that it was not only uninhabitable but also unknown to the people of that country’.
- (82) **ne in hlaf ane lifes monn ah in alle l in eghwelic word** þæt soðlic cuom of muðe godes. (MtGl (Li) 4.4).⁷⁰

Negative contrastive constructions are typically used as a rhetorical means in communication which is intended to be effective, as illustrated in example (83), in which the hypothetical alternative in the first half of the construction emphasizes the correct alternative, which comes in the second half introduced by the adversative particle *ac*, ‘but instead’, or ‘on the contrary’.

⁶⁸ The construction varies, as for example, in the following, ‘*Nu ic cyþe mid dædum*’, *cwæþ Petrus to Nerone*, ‘*næs mid wordum anum*’. (LS 32 (Peter & Paul) 184) ‘Now I show you by my deeds’, said Peter to Nero, ‘and not by words only’, see Rissanen (1985: 254).

⁶⁹ *nec solum exulem nuntiis hostilibus non tradidit, sed etiam eum, ut in regnum perueniret, adiuit.*

⁷⁰ *non in pane solo uiuit homo sed in omni uerbo quod procedit de ore dei. Cf. Ne bið on hlafe anum mannes lif, ac of eallum þæm worde þe gæp of Godes muþe.* (HomS 10 (BlHom 3) 6).

- (83) þæt he **nales to idelnesse**, swa sume oðre, **ac to gewinne** in þæt mynster eode (Bede 264.6)⁷¹
 ‘that he was not entering the monastery for the sake of ease, as some did, but [instead] to work hard’.

Special rhetorical devices that also occur in OE prose include anaphora and antimetabole.⁷² As a rhetorical device anaphora refers to “repetition of a word or expression at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences, or verses especially for rhetorical or poetic effect” (M-W, s.v. *anaphora*). The recurring negators and phrases contribute to heighten the contrast in (84). Repetition of words or phrases is typical of rhetorical devices, such as antimetabole, which refers to a figure of speech that ‘reverses the relative position of a pair of key terms in parallel phrases’ (Fahnestock 2002: 123). In other words, antimetabole involves repetition of words or ideas in reverse order in (85).⁷³ In it the two parallel phrases are symmetrical in that the phrase of the first half, *fram deaðe to life* is repeated in a reverse form, *na fram life to deaðe*, in the second half. Fahnestock (2002: 150) sums up the pattern of this rhetorical device by stating that in such a construction the first half typically consists of an assumed but mistaken relationship which may be held by the audience addressed, while the second half reveals that this widely held belief is not correct and that the reverse is the case.

- (84) **Næs to anum dæge, ne to twam, ne to fifon, ne to tynon, ne to twentigum, ac fulne monað.** (Num 11.19)⁷⁴
 ‘Not for one day, nor two, nor five, nor ten, nor twenty, but the whole month.’
 (85) We sind asende to gecigenne mancynn **fram deaðe to life. na** to scufenne **fram life to deaðe.** (ÆCHom II 283.128)
 ‘We are sent to call mankind from death to life, not to drive [mankind] from life to death.’ (Translation based on Thorpe 1846–1848)

In Article (II), I examine the distribution of the four types of contrastive constructions, namely (i) *X not Y*, (ii) *X and not Y*, (iii) *X but not Y*, and (iv) *not X but Y*, in the select corpus, in order to uncover the factors that explain the diatopic, diachronic and genre-based variation among the negators in such constructions in OE prose and glosses. By resorting to quantitative data I test Mitchell’s generalization (1985: §§1616, 1622) regarding the

⁷¹ Non enim ad otium, ut quidam, sed ad laborem se monasterium intrare signabat (CM). This may be compared with the following, in which the structure differs: (10) **ne com he to idelnesse to þam mynstre swa sume men doþ ac he tacnade** þæt he to gewinne in þæt mynster eode þæt he mid weorcum gecyðde. (LS 3 (Chad) 87).

⁷² Poteat (1919a: 139–140) gives examples of various repetitive techniques in Latin poetry.

⁷³ Poteat (1919b: 146).

⁷⁴ non uno die nec duobus vel quinque aut decem nec viginti quidem sed usque ad mensem dierum (Num 11.19–20).

occurrences of these negators in contrastive constructions. He concludes that the adverb *nalles*,⁷⁵ ‘not, not at all’, is used in poetry to negate one of two alternative words (other than verbs) or phrases, whereas in prose, especially in Ælfric, the negator in such instances is regularly *na* ‘not’. But occasionally the adverb *nalles* also occurs in prose (Mitchell 1985: §1622). I also answer the questions why such structures are used in OE prose and why they are more common in some texts than in others.⁷⁶ These questions have not been studied in detail in previous studies on negative constructions in OE:

3.2.3 The prefix *un-*

The high number of dictionary entries introduced by the prefix *un-* (BT, s.v. *un-*) suggests that *un-* is the most frequent of the negative prefixes in OE.⁷⁷ Typically the prefix negates a word,⁷⁸ which may be an adjective (*ungearu* ‘unprepared’), noun (*unfrið* ‘hostility’), adverb (*uneaðe* ‘with difficulty’), and less frequently a verb (*untrumian* ‘weaken’). *Un-* is mainly used to indicate the antithesis of the stem-meaning (*gelic* ‘similar’, *ungelic* ‘dissimilar’), but there are also exceptions, such as *uncyme* ‘poor’ (*cyme* ‘splendid’, ‘beautiful’). *Un-* is not attached to stems that are negative on the evaluative scale. Occasionally *un-* has a pejorative sense in nouns, as in *unwritere* ‘bad writer, careless scribe’.

Negation is typically confined to the constituent introduced by the prefix *un-*, as shown by examples (65), (68), (69), and (70) above, in which *un-* and *naht* are used as alternative means of expressing shortness of time or distance (*naht feor/unfeor*, *æfter noht monegum/unmonegum gearum* etc.). However, occasionally the meaning of a construction introduced by the prefix *un-* is more or less the same as that of a clause negated by the particle *ne*. Example (86), in which the prefix *un-* is attached to the adverb *lifes* ‘alive’, means roughly the same as the clause *he ne is/nis nu lifigende*.⁷⁹ Similarly, the idea of someone being unbaptized may be expressed either by the participle *ungefullod*, or the negated verb form *næs gefullod* (examples 87–88):

⁷⁵ Mitchell (1985: §1620) maintains that the forms *næs*, *nals* and the different spellings of *nalles* can be taken together for syntactic purposes. He refers to these spellings by *nalles*.

⁷⁶ LaBrum (1982: 43f.) discusses *na* and *nalles* in such constructions as instances of contrastives. She concludes that her findings, which are based on a small sample, do not “really give any indication of what conditions – if any – govern the use of *na/nalles* in contrastives”.

⁷⁷ This passage is based on Quirk & Wrenn (1983: §§170–172). Cf. *wan-/won-* which is a privative or negative prefix, used especially with nouns and adjectives, e.g. *wonhyd* ‘recklessness’, and *wanhal* ‘sick’ (cf. *unhal* ‘sick’). The prefix *mis-* modifies nouns, and verbs with the sense of ‘amiss, wrongly’, as, for example, *misdæd*, ‘misdeed’, and *misfon* ‘fail to get’ (ibid.).

⁷⁸ Cf. Wortnegation in Schuchardt (1910: 11f.).

⁷⁹ The function of the prefix *mis-* in *mislician* ‘dislike, displease’ is very similar to negation expressed by the particle *ne*: & *na nyde man naðer ne wif ne mæden to þam, þe hyre sylfre mislicie*, ‘... whom she herself dislikes/does not like’ (LawIICn 74).

- (86) he is nu **unlifes**. (ÆLS (Book of Kings) 200)
 ‘He is now dead.’
- (87) þeah þe he to langum fyrste **ungefullod** wære. (ÆLS (Basil) 1)
 ‘although for a long time he was unbaptized’.
- (88) He **næs** þa git **gefullod**. (ÆLS (Martin) 51)
 ‘He was not yet baptized.’

Two negators make an affirmative if they are both linked to the same word, as in the phrase *not unknown*, in which the particle *not* is placed before a word containing the prefix *un-*. However, the result of double negation is somewhat different from a simple idea expressed positively.⁸⁰ Saying that *this is not unknown to me* means the same as *I am to some extent aware of it* (Jespersen 1958: 332).

Such constructions are often referred to as litotes (understatement). Ingersoll (1978: 11) states that there are numerous definitions of the English use of litotes, and of the term understatement, which is occasionally considered its synonym. However, there is much disagreement concerning the terms. Ingersoll regards the use of litotes (understatement)⁸¹ as a common Germanic feature and not merely a borrowing from Latin (cf. also Bracher 1937 and Hollander 1938). Typically, they are used as rhetorical devices.

The meaning of such constructions, as for instance in the comparative construction *not less intolerable* in example (89), is vague. Wærferth resorts to such a construction in example (90), in which *naht ungelic trymnes* ‘a not dissimilar edification’ translates *non dispar aedificatio* in MS C, whereas the revisor translates it without a negator, namely *swiðe gelic trymning*.

- (89) oðer wes **nohte þon læs unaarefdlice** cele hægles & snawes. (Bede 424.25)
 ‘The other was not less intolerable through the chill of hail and snow.’
- (90) forþam þe **swiðe gelic trymning** byð uppsprungan [**ne cymð naht ungelic trymnes upp** MS C] of gemynde þara mægna godra wera. (GDPref 1 (H) 7.29)⁸²
 ‘Because a very similar edification arises when the miracles of good men are remembered.’

In this thesis I focus on the adverbs *unfeor*, *unfyrn* and *ungeara* in which the prefix is used as a syntactic variant of *naht* in adverbial phrases.

⁸⁰ Cf. Latin *non inutilis* = very useful, *non indoctus* = very learned.

⁸¹ Cf. double negative understatement in Sigmon (1976: 328f.).

⁸² *quia non dispar aedificatio oritur ex memoria virtutum* (UM 16.5).

3.3 Indirect negation

Schuchardt (1910: 60) expands the concept of negation to indirect means of negating sentences or constituents in OE. In prose and glosses, such means include the approximate negators⁸³ *fea* ‘few’ and *lyt* ‘little’, which often occurs in the combination *þy læs (þe)* ‘lest, that not’, the affixal negator *–leas* ‘less’, and the item *butan*, which has several functions in a clause. Examples of the approximate negators *fea* and *lyt* in adverbial phrases are given in examples (67–69) above. This chapter is a short introduction to other means of indirect negation in OE prose and glosses.

Butan has various functions and meanings in OE (see DOE s.v. *butan*). The conjunction *butan* ‘unless, if not’ (DOE s.v. *butan*, III.A) is used to connect two clauses, especially in West Saxon texts, (see examples (91), (92) and also Mt (WSCp) 18.3). In such sentences, the *butan* clause consists of the conditions that have to be fulfilled before the main clause can be true. The Rushworth version of the Gospel of St. Matthew prefers the conjunction *nefne*, see example (92).⁸⁴ *Butan* also expresses exception or exclusion ‘except, save, apart from, but’ (DOE s.v. *butan*, II. C). In example (93), the phrase *buton Sunnandagum* ‘except Sundays, not Sundays’ translates *excepta dominica* in the source text.

- (91) Ne mæg þæt god beon getimbrod: **buton þæt yfel beo ær toworpen**. (ÆCHom I, 254.162)
‘Good cannot be built, unless evil is first cast down’.
- (92) Soðlice ic secge eow, **buton eower rihtwisnyss mare sy [nymþe eower soþfæstnisse genihtsumige MtGl (Ru)] þonne þæra writera & sundorhalgena ne ga ge on heofonan rice**. (Mt (WSCp) 5.20)
‘Truly I say to you, unless your justice is more than that of the scribes and pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.’
- (93) Ond eallum þam dagum **buton <Sunnandagum>** he afæste to æfenes (Bede 230.30)]
‘And on all those days he fasted till evening, as was his wont, except on Sundays.’

Butan, ‘without, free from, not provided with’, is frequently used as a preposition (DOE s.v. *butan*, II.B), as in examples (94–96). The phrase (*sona*) *butan eldnesse* is semantically similar to the phrase *ne wæs þa elden* ‘there was no delay, without delay’ in sentence (96):

- (94) Suðseaxna mægð wæs wuniende fela geara **butan bisceope**. (Bede 478.19)

⁸³ The term is from Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 788), who make a distinction between absolute negators (*no*, *nobody*, *nothing*, *none*, *neither*, *nor*, *never*), approximate negators (*few*, *little*, *barely*, *hardly*, *scarcely*, *rarely*, *seldom*), and affixal negators (*un-*, *non-*, *-less*, etc.).

⁸⁴ For the spellings and forms of *nefne*, *nymðe*, etc., see Appendix 2.

- ‘The province of the South Saxons remained for many years without a bishop.’
- (95) **Þa sona buton eldnesse** wæs se blinda man onlehted & gesyhðe onfeng. (Bede 100:9)
 ‘Then without delay light was given to the blind, and he received his sight.’
- (96) **Ne wæs þa elden**, þætte þæt saar gestilled wæs. (Bede 178.26)
 ‘Without delay, the pain was relieved.’

Jespersen (1917: 39f.) labels *little* and *few* incomplete negatives. He states that the negative force of *little* is seen clearly in instances in which it is placed before the verbs *know*, *think*, or *care*. In the following quotation from *Beowulf*, *lyt*, ‘little’, is placed before the verb *swigian*, ‘keep silent’: **Lyt swigode niwra spella se ðe næs gerad** (Beo 2897). The lines are an example of litotes, in which the approximate negator *lyt* has an important role. The first part of the quotation, ‘little kept (he) silent of the news’, or ‘little did (he) keep silent of the news’ is an understatement for ‘he spoke’. Bradley’s (1991) translation of the line is as follows, ‘He left little of the new tidings unspoken, the man who rode to the headland.’⁸⁵ Such understatements typically belong to poetry.

The comparative of *lyt* often occurs in the subordinating conjunction *pylæs* (*þelæs*, *pilæs*) (*þe*), ‘lest’, literally ‘by that much less’, which signifies negative purpose or expectation (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: §113; Mitchell & Robinson 1982: §168). Since the conjunction includes the meaning of ‘that’ with the addition of negation, so that it is the equivalent of ‘lest’, ‘in order that ... not’ or ‘for fear that’,⁸⁶ there is no negative in the *þy læs* (*þe*) clause (example 97). In sentences (98) and (99) the conjunction is used more or less like a causal conjunction with a negated verb form:⁸⁷

- (97) **þa bebead he þæt hine mon gebunde, þy læs he on niht onweg fluge & bestæle.**
 (Bede 326.20)
 ‘He directed him to be bound, that he might not flee away or steal off by night.’
- (98) **Ða andswarudun þa gleawan & cwædun, nese, þe læs þe we & ge nabbon genoh;** (Mt (WSCp) 25.9)⁸⁸
 ‘Then the wise answered and said: ‘No, because there is not enough for both us and you.’
- (99) **Þi læs ðe hit ne genihtsumige us and eow.** farað to ðam syllendum. and bicgað eow ele. (ÆCHom II 332.149)

⁸⁵ Bracher (1937:916) considers these lines as a double understatement. He states that ‘he little kept silent’ is understatement (by incomplete negation) for ‘he did not keep silent’, which is understatement for ‘he spoke’, which is “the true import of the passage, as indicated unmistakably here by the second half of the antithesis, *ac he soðlice sægde ofer ealle*”.

⁸⁶ For the later stages of the conjunction, see OED s.v. *lest*.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ðylæs elðiodige hie dælen wið ðe* (CP(H) 373.6) ‘lest strangers share them with you’, and the same line in MS C, *ðylæs elðiodige hie ne dælen wið ðe*, which is later than MS H (quoted from Sweet 1958 [1871–1872], 372).

⁸⁸ responderunt prudentes dicentes ne forte non sufficiat nobis et vobis.

‘Lest it does not suffice for us and you, go to the merchants and buy yourselves oil.’

The suffix *-leas*, ‘deprived of, without’, is employed to form adjectives with the sense ‘bereft of’ from nouns. Occasionally, the suffix is compounded with the same stems as the prefix *or-*,⁸⁹ e.g. *orsawle* and *sawolleas* ‘lifeless, dead’ (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: §171; Ingersoll 1978: 44f.). In example (102) the OE translator could also have resorted to a clause, or a phrase like *butan heorde* (cf. Bede 106.17) instead of *heordeleas*:

- (102) hie weron gewælde & liccende swa scep **heordeleas**. (MtGl (Ru) 9.36)⁹⁰
‘they were subdued and lying like sheep without a shepherd’.

Wana/wona is an indeclinable adjective⁹¹ meaning ‘wanting, destitute of, without something’ (BT s.v. *wana*). *Wana* is also a noun meaning ‘lack’, see (103). Both the noun and the adjective are obsolete: the last citation of the noun in MED (s.v. *wane* n.) is from c. 1475, and according to Visser (1963-73, I, 3: §255), the last occurrence of the adjective *wana* (*wane*) is from c. 1522: Skelton. *Ye must weare bukram, or canuas of Cane, For sylkes are wane*.

- (101) þæt **he bið wana** þæs ecan leohtes (HomS 8 (BIHom 2) 67)
‘that he is deprived of the eternal light’.
(102) Ða cwæð se Hælend, **an þing þe is wana**. (Lk (WSCp) 18.22)⁹²
‘Then said the Saviour, you lack one thing.’
(103) Sume dæge hit gelamp, þæt **in þære ylcan cyrcan wæs eles wana**. (GD 1 (C) 44.8)
‘One day it happened that in the same church there was lack of oil.’

Rhetorical questions, which are common in the biblical passages, may be used to translate negative declarative clauses of the source text. In the West Saxon version, the translation has a question, though the source does not have any (example 104, and Mk (WSCp) 3.25). In the Lindisfarne version of the same passage, the glossator follows the source text closely, *ne mæge stonde ric ðæs* (MkGl (Li) 3.24).⁹³

- (104) & gif his rice on him sylfum bið todæled, **hu mæg hit standan?** (Mk (WSCp) 3.24))
‘And if his kingdom is divided against itself, how can it stand?’

⁸⁹ The prefix *or-* “makes nouns adjectival with the sense of ‘lacking, without (the stem)’” (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: §172).

⁹⁰ qui erant uexati et iacentes sicut oues non habentes pastorem.

⁹¹ See Campbell (1959: §638).

⁹² unum tibi deest.

⁹³ non potest stare regnum illius.

The discussion above shows examples of the plethora of expressions that convey the idea of negation. In classical logic, in which negation is indicated by a marker, negation is univocal. In natural language negation is all but univocal, since in it attention must be paid to the interaction between form, meaning, and the way we use language. A definition of negation should bring together all these aspects of this complicated phenomenon.

4. Data and research methods

This thesis comprises both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the variation of negators in four types of negative constructions in data which are drawn from two sources. Two of the articles are based on a select corpus of 19 texts. This corpus consists of continuous texts, both prose and glosses; no poetry is included (Appendix 1). In two of the articles the data are drawn from the prose part of DOEC. Both approaches, qualitative and quantitative, are combined in order to address the research questions. The conclusions are based on methodological triangulation⁹⁴ that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods (Cohen et al. 2003: 112–115; Angouri 2019: 41ff.).

The key concepts related to a corpus are sampling, representativeness and balance (Baker 2019: 170). The techniques used to select a sample can be subdivided into two groups: probability (random) sampling and non-probability (non-random) sampling. In probability sampling the researcher starts with a complete sample frame which consists of all eligible items from which the sample is selected.⁹⁵ Since all items have an equal chance of being selected for the sample, probability sampling permits the generalization of the results the researcher obtains to comprise all items from which the sample has been selected. A wide variety of statistical methods are available for processing data obtained through random sampling (Cohen et al. 2003: 99–102).⁹⁶

Non-probability sampling refers to a different technique. It implies selecting categories or groups of items to be studied on the basis of their relevance to the research questions (Cohen et al. 2003: 102ff.). An optimal sample is of finite size and represents maximally the variety under examination (see Baker 2019: 169). This makes the technique useful in exploratory research. A sample which has been selected by this technique does not produce

⁹⁴ Triangulation refers to a multi-method approach to a problem. Various kinds of triangulation include, for example, theoretical triangulation (drawing on alternative theories), and methodological triangulation (using the same method on different occasions or different methods on the same object of study) (Cohen et al. 2003: 113).

⁹⁵ Sampling can be conducted in various ways, such as systematic, stratified and cluster sampling. For details, see Cohen et al. (2003: 99–102).

⁹⁶ For a quantitative approach in historical linguistics, see Jensen and McGillivray (2017).

results that are generalizable in the same sense as those of probability sampling. However, Yin (2003: 10f.) refers to analytic generalization, which means generalization from the results of the analysis to the theory of the phenomenon being studied. Thus, the interpretation of the results of a qualitative study may permit the researcher to draw conclusions that have a wider applicability than the sample that he has focused on.

The methods and techniques adopted in a study depend on the research questions (Angouri 2016:37). In this thesis, I resorted to purposive sampling, which is one form of non-probability techniques. It focuses on some features or processes in which the researcher is interested (Silverman 2002:104). This technique is characterized by the use of the researcher's judgment and his "deliberate effort to obtain representative samples by including presumably typical areas or groups in the sample" (Kerlinger 1986: 120).

The corpus (Appendix 1) was compiled in view of the various text types, dialects and periods of OE to cover the needs of four articles on the variation of negative constructions in OE. Its size was not determined in advance, but it was planned to include enough data to reveal something about the frequencies of the phenomena under examination, and also enable the researcher to examine what is rare, or what is typical of the constructions under investigation (Baker 2019: 169–170). Two of these articles are included in this thesis, namely one on adverbial phrases, and another on contrastive constructions.

I had barely started writing my first article on variation among the contracted (*nis*, *nelle* etc.) and noncontracted verb forms (*ne is*, *ne wile* etc.) in OE prose, when I noticed that three new and large articles (van Bergen 2008 a, and b; Ogura 2008) on this topic had been published. It was clear that there was no room for a fourth study on this subject. Instead of these verb forms, I decided to tackle a problem that had bothered me for a long time. It was simply the question: How did they answer a *yes-no* question in the negative in OE? I had found no answer to this question in the literature. Wülfing (1894, 1901) includes a list of examples of the negator *nese* in King Alfred's works in his syntax, but he does not comment on the use of the negator. Campbell (1959) does not even include the negators *nese* or *nic* in the index of his grammar. However, it is important to know how they express dissent or refusal in OE. The new subject also implied changes in the corpus.

Due to the scarce occurrence of the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese*, and *nic* as answer words, in alternative questions and as signal words in the select corpus, I found it necessary to expand the corpus to comprise the prose part and glosses of DOEC⁹⁷ in the article on negators

⁹⁷ DOEC comprises a copy of each text surviving in Old English. In some cases, more than one copy is included. The texts of the prose part cover the OE period before the year 1150 AD. The size of this part of DOEC is

as equivalents of a clause (Article III). The broadening of the sample (data triangulation) is possible in purposive sampling, which permits sampling in several phases with each of them building on the previous one.

I had planned to write the fourth article on various forms of double and multiple negation in the prose, but after having read Mazzon's (2004) book on negation, in which she gives a few examples of constructions that she labels negative raising, I changed my plans. I wanted to find an answer to this controversial problem regarding NR in OE (Article IV). In order to have a comprehensive picture of the transfer of negation from the nominal clause to the matrix clause in a complex sentence, I also resorted to the prose part of DOEC.

Since the chosen technique relies on the researcher as to the selection of the texts that are to be studied, it is subjective and therefore vulnerable to errors in judgment. In order to convince the reader of the representativeness and heterogeneousness of the sample I resorted to the categorization of OE texts in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC)⁹⁸ as indicated in Table 1 (Appendix 1). This categorization, which is based on the sub-period, dialect, and text type of a great number of OE prose texts, provides a good frame for the examination of genre-based, dialectal and diachronic variation. Here the term dialectal is used as a synonym for diatopic and refers to the four geographic areas of OE texts, i.e. West Saxon, Mercian, Northumbrian and Kentish.

In HC, the types of text have been grouped further into six larger entities, called "prototypical text categories". In my corpus they are represented by the following texts:

- (i) religious instruction: *Cura Pastoralis*, *Wulfstan's Homilies*, *Blickling Homilies*, *Ælfric's Preface to Genesis*, *Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward*, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 2nd series
- (ii) expository: *De Temporibus Anni*
- (iii) non-imaginative narration: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, *The OE Orosius*, *Gregory's Dialogues* (C) and (H) and *Chad*.

The categories of (iv) statutory, (v) imaginative narration and (vi) secular instruction are not represented in the corpus. The three versions of the *Gospels of St. Matthew*, *Vespasian Psalter*, *Alfred's Preface to Cura Pastoralis* and *Charters* (Robertson) are not included in the prototypical text categories.

2,128,781 words of Old English; the number of foreign words is 52,038.

⁹⁸ *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC), for details, see Kytö (1996).

An overview of the corpus is shown in Table 1 (Appendix 1). The word counts are based on the DOEC 2009 release. The size of the corpus, 641,323 OE words, is about one fifth of the size of the prose part and glosses included in DOEC. It contains 11,282 instances of items introduced by the negator *ne*, or the proclitic element *n-*. The number of different spellings of negative forms is 229. Since I started collecting the corpus before the electronic version of DOEC was available, I collected the whole data manually from the editions indicated in the references.⁹⁹

The number of occurrences of negative forms per 1,000 words varies in the texts (for details, see Appendix 3). The range of variation extends from 4.4 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A)) to 28.2 (*Ælfric's Preface to Genesis*) negative items per 1,000 words of running text. The mean is 17.5. The numbers are lowest in texts that are categorized¹⁰⁰ in HC as nonimaginative narration, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, *Orosius*, the *Life of Chad*, or documents (*Charters* (Robinson)). The highest numbers are found in religious instructions, such as *Wulfstan's Homilies*, Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*, the West Saxon version of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*, which is placed in the category of expository texts in HC. The texts around the mean represent religious instructions, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, *Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward*, and the *Blickling Homilies*, nonimaginative narration, MS C and H of *Gregory's Dialogues*, and three texts from the Bible, namely the Lindisfarne and Rushworth versions of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and the *Vespasian Psalter*.

The textual evidence attests four OE dialects: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish (Campbell 1959: §6).¹⁰¹ However, the distribution of the prose texts is biased; documents in West Saxon outnumber all the non-West Saxon (Anglian) material put together (Crowley 1986: 102–103). Ingham (2006: 244) points out that the localization of Old English writings is often problematic, since the texts, including the ones that derive from non-West Saxon originals, “have been through a process of copying and standardization by West Saxon scribes”. Such observations even make him conclude that an attempt to “identify consistent Old English dialectal variation on the basis of the surviving Anglo-Saxon prose records is a hazardous undertaking” (ibid.).

In this select corpus, the bulk of the data represents the West Saxon dialect.¹⁰² The size of the late West Saxon part is nearly twice the size of the early West Saxon part, which also includes the West Saxon texts with Anglian elements, namely Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*,

⁹⁹ The citations follow the spellings of *The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC).

¹⁰⁰ For details, see Appendix 3.

¹⁰¹ The attestation of Kentish material is “particularly shaky” (Crowley 1986: 102–103).

¹⁰² Appendix 1.

the *Blickling Homilies*, and MS C of *Gregory's Dialogues*.¹⁰³ In this corpus, the non-West Saxon dialects are represented by the glosses of the *Vespasian Psalter*, and the *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew*, both of which are Mercian and the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*, which represents the Northumbrian dialect (Campbell 1959: §§6 and 19; Ker 1957: 352).¹⁰⁴ The short passage from the *Life of St. Chad*, which has preserved some of the Mercian elements of an older OE original (Vleeskruyer 1953: 7–8; Schabram 1965: 35), is also included. Ingham (2006: 245) regards *Chad* as one of the few extant texts that were not rewritten by West Saxon scribes. Robertson includes a few Mercian or Kentish documents in her collection of Anglo-Saxon charters. However, these short passages are of minor importance in this thesis due to the scarcity of negative constructions in them.

The major extant non-West Saxon texts are interlinear glosses. Inclusion of the glosses widens the non-West Saxon portion of the corpus making the study of differences between the non-West Saxon and West Saxon gospels possible at least on the lexeme level, even though they hardly reflect the general language of the period.

5. Research questions

This thesis consists of four articles. Articles (I) and (II) are based on the select corpus of 19 texts described in chapter 4 and appendix 1. In articles (III) and (IV) the data are drawn from DOEC. Since part of the OE texts are Latin-based, I have also consulted the source texts, especially Moricca's edition of *Gregory's Dialogues* (UM) and Colgrave's and Mynor's edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (CM). No thorough analysis of the Latin material has been included. The research questions are the following.

Article (I). *Negators in Adverbial Phrases Indicating Time and Place with Special Reference to Litotes* (Mönkkönen 2012).

Question 1

How do the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *naes* and the prefix *un-* vary in the prose and glosses in adverbial phrases, such as '*not after a long time*' and '*not far from*', in which negation is confined to the phrase?

¹⁰³ The non-WS elements are numerous in these three texts (Deutschbein 1900: passim.; Campbell 1959: §17; Schabram 1965: 73ff.).

¹⁰⁴ For the dialect of *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew*, see also Breeze (1996: 394–395), and Tamoto (2013: xxx–xxxii).

The discussion is based on variation across time (diachronic), space (diatopic) and text type (genre-based). Special attention is paid to the use of such constructions as rhetorical devices (litotes). The quantitative part of the article consists of the frequencies of the five negators in such phrases in the select corpus. The results are shown as frequencies and percentages. In order to show the transferability of the results, DOEC is consulted for additional examples of such constructions.

Article (II). *Negators in Contrastive Constructions in Old English* (Mönkkönen 2018).

Question 2

How do the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and *næs* vary in contrastive constructions in the prose and glosses?

In this article, I focus on the special negators *na*, *nalles*, *næs*, and the double negative constructions *nalles na*, and *næs na*, and uncover the factors that explain the variation among the negators in contrastive constructions in OE prose and glosses. The data are drawn from a select corpus of 19 texts. The discussion is based on the following four types of contrastive constructions, in which the conjoins are words, phrases or non-finite verb forms:

Type (i): *X not Y*

Type (ii): *X and not Y*

Type (iii): *X but not Y*

Type (iv): *not X but Y*

I also answer the question why such constructions are used and why they are more common in some texts than others. Instances in which a finite verb is negated, or in which the negator refers to a clause, including the additive type *not only... but also*, are excluded. The results of the quantitative part are shown as frequencies and percentages.

Article (III). *Old English Negators as Equivalent of a Clause* (Mönkkönen 2016).

Question 3

How do the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* vary in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions, and how do they function as reaction signals to express denial and refusal in OE prose?

In this article, I found it necessary to extend the corpus to cover all occurrences of the four negators in DOEC. The data are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The report is supplemented with a select sample of occurrences of the particle *ne*.

Article (IV). *Negative Raising in Old English with Special Reference to the Verb wenan* (Mönkkönen 2019)

Question 4.

How does the placement of the negative particle *ne* vary with certain verbs denoting belief and assumption in complex sentences where the complement of the matrix clause is a finite nominal clause introduced by *þæt(te)*, ‘that’?

In this article, I show that instances of complex sentences in which the negation is moved from the subclause to the matrix clause are more common than hitherto assumed. Since we do not have native speakers of OE we have to rely on our intuitions as to the interpretation of a complex clause with matrix clause negation. I agree with Bublitz (1992: 568) and Fischer (1999: 57), who consider the interpretation of such a clause less ambiguous in cases in which the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular. Thus, in my analysis of the verbs *wenan*, *willan*, *gelyfan* and *þyncan* in complex sentences in OE prose, I mainly focus on instances where the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular. In this article, the data are drawn from the prose part of DOEC.

Part II. Studies

6. Article I.—Negators in Adverbial Phrases Indicating Time and Place with Special Reference to Litotes

NEGATORS IN ADVERBIAL PHRASES INDICATING TIME AND PLACE IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LITOTES

Abstract

This article examines variation of the Old English negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and the prefix *un-* in adverbial phrases of the litotes type, such as ‘not after a long time’ and ‘not far from’, in which negation is confined to the phrase. The aim is to find out how the negative adverbs and the prefix *un-* vary according to date, dialect and text type in such phrases in OE prose. The study comprises both a description and a quantitative analysis of a corpus of 19 prose texts. The three types of variation examined in the article – diachronic, diatopic and genre-based – suggest that the adverbials studied are early rather than late, Mercian rather than West Saxon, and disproportionately common in narrative texts. The proliferation of such constructions in King Alfred’s day probably points to language contact through translation. Litotes type adverbials are stylistically marked and they are used, like their Latin counterparts, as embellishments.

1. Introduction

The adverb *ne*, ‘not’, is the most common negator in Old English (OE). There is a very strong tendency to connect it with the following finite verb form. Recent research into the syntax of negation in OE has mainly focused on the adverb *ne* and sentential negation (van Kemenade 1999; Ohkado 2005; van Bergen 2008a and b; Ogura 2008, etc.). Less attention has been paid to special negators, for example, the adverb *noht* ‘not’ in phrases, such as *heonan noht feor* (1) and the prefix *un-* in the adverb *unfyrn* (2).

- (1) We witan **heonan noht feor** oðer ealond eastrihte (*Bede* 28.13).¹
‘We know, not far from here, of another island to the east.’ [Type (i)]
- (2) He wæs nu **unfyrn** on þissere ylcan byrig forðfereð (*GD(C)* 71.18).
‘He died not a long time ago in this city.’ [Type (ii)]

The instances quoted above are illustrative examples of litotes, i.e. expressions in which an idea is expressed by the negation of its opposite (Ingersoll 1978: 11–12; cf. Latin *negatio contrarii* in Hoffmann 1987: 42).² Such an expression always has a wide range of possible shades of meaning. Litotes has often been regarded as a rhetorical device borrowed from the classical languages, but it has also been considered a common Germanic feature, employed mainly in poetry (Bracher 1937; Ingersoll 1979, 11).

¹ The short titles of the OE texts follow those in Mitchell et al. (1975 and 1979). Modern English (ModE) translations are by the author of the article, unless otherwise indicated. The Latin text of the biblical passages is from the Vulgate version.

² There is much disagreement among the various definitions of the term ‘litotes’. Sometimes it has been used interchangeably with the term ‘understatement’ (cf. Ingersoll, 1978: 11–12; Hoffmann 1987: 35–42).

In this article, an attempt is made to explore variation of the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *næs* and the prefix *un-* in adverbial phrases, such as ‘not after a long time’ and ‘not far from’, in which negation is confined to the phrase. The purpose of the present study is to find out how the negative adverbs and the prefix *un-* vary according to date, dialect and text type in such phrases in OE prose. The discussion is based on variation across time (diachronic variation), space (diatopic variation) and according to text type (genre-based variation). The conclusions are based on methodological triangulation, which implies the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods on the same object of study (Cohen et al. 2003: 112–113). The study comprises both a description and a quantitative analysis of a corpus of 19 prose texts. Additional examples have been drawn from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC).

2. Corpus

The compilation of the present corpus was planned in view of the various text types, dialects and periods of OE, to cover the needs of four studies on negative adverbs, of which the present study is the first one. The summary of the corpus (Table 1) shows the word counts, which are based on the DOEC 2009 release. The size of the corpus, 641,323 OE words, covers about one fifth of all the OE words in the DOEC.

Table 1. The corpus

Text type	Text	Word counts
Document	<i>Charters (Robertson)</i>	25,638
History	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A)</i>	14,551
	<i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History</i>	80,521
	<i>The Old English Orosius</i>	5,111
Religious treatise	<i>Cura Pastoralis</i>	67,835
Preface	<i>Preface to Cura Pastoralis</i>	874
	<i>Preface to Genesis</i>	1,383
	<i>On the Old and New Testament</i>	10,182
Bible	<i>The Vespasian Psalter</i>	32,347
	<i>The West Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	20,436
	<i>The Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	21,327
	<i>The Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	19,628
Homily	<i>Blickling Homilies</i>	44,918
	<i>Homilies of Wulfstan</i>	28,194
	<i>Ælfric's Homilies</i>	97,702
Biography: life of saint	<i>Gregory's Dialogues (C)</i>	91,488
	<i>Gregory's Dialogues (H)</i>	25,229
	<i>The Life of St. Chad</i>	2,649
Science: astronomy	<i>De Temporibus Anni</i>	5,311
		Σ 641,323

The subcategories of the text types in Table 1 follow the categorization of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC). In HC, the types of text have been grouped further into six larger entities, called “prototypical text categories”. In the present corpus they are represented by the following texts: (i) statutory (*Charters* (Robertson)), (ii) religious instruction (*Cura Pastoralis*, *Wulfstan’s Homilies*, *Blickling Homilies*, *Ælfric’s Preface to Genesis*, *Ælfric’s Homilies*), (iii) expository (*De Temporibus Anni*), and (iv) non-imaginative narration (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A), *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History*, *The OE Orosius*, *Gregory’s Dialogues* (C) and (H) and *Chad*). The categories of (v) imaginative narration and (vi) secular instruction are not represented in the corpus. Alfred’s *Preface to Cura Pastoralis*, *Ælfric’s Preface to the Old Testament* and the Bible texts are not included in the categorization of prototypical text categories.

The textual evidence attests four OE dialects: West Saxon, Northumbrian, Mercian and Kentish. Documents in West Saxon, mainly late West Saxon, outnumber all the non-West Saxon (Anglian) material put together (Crowley 1986: 102–103).³ Scarcity of non-West Saxon prose is well-known. The interlinear glosses hardly reflect the general language of the period. However, inclusion of the glosses widens the non-West Saxon portion of the corpus making the study of differences between the non-West Saxon and West Saxon gospels on lexeme level possible. In the present study, the non-West Saxon material comprises the glosses of the *Vespasian Psalter*, the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew* and 107 documents in the *Charters* (Robertson).

The texts from the early West Saxon (WS) period include the *Old English Orosius*, *Gregory’s Pastoral Care* MS H, King Alfred’s *Preface to Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, while the late WS period is represented by the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Homilies of Wulfstan*, *Ælfric’s Homilies* (Godden), *De Temporibus Anni*, *Ælfric’s Preface to Genesis* and his treatise *On the Old and New Testament. The Life of St. Chad*, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History*, *The Blickling Homilies* and *Gregory’s Dialogues* MS C, which contain numerous Anglian elements (Campbell 1959: 9; Schabram 1965: 73ff.; Deutschbein 1900: passim), are discussed as a separate group. Special attention is paid to the comparison of the negatives in adverbial phrases in the two versions of *Gregory’s Dialogues*. MS C is Wærferth’s translation, produced some time between the early 870s and early 890s, whereas the revision of the translation, MS H, took place between 950 and 1050, probably in Worcester, by an anonymous scribe (Yerkes 1982: 9–10). The dialect will be discussed in section 7, Diatopic variation.

³ The attestation for a Kentish dialect is “particularly shaky” (Crowley 1986: 102–103). Many of the significant Kentish documents are from one tenth century manuscript, i.e. British Museum manuscript Cotton Vespasian D. vi. (ibid.; see also Watson 1974: 73).

3. Clausal and local negation in OE

The negative word immediately preceding a finite verb form in OE is normally the particle *ne*, or sometimes the adverb *na*, ‘not’ (Mitchell 1985: §§1599 and 1618; Andrew 1966: 68). In examples (3) and (4) the scope of the negation, i.e. the stretch of expression over which a negator has a semantic influence (Quirk et al. 1985: 776–778, 787–794), extends over a whole clause, making it negative (clausal negation).

- (3) **Ne oncneow** heo weres gemanan (*ÆCHom* i. 42.9).
 ‘She had had no intercourse with a man.’
- (4) 7 eac fela godra hama þe we genemnan **na cunnan** (*ChronA* 132.25 AD 1001).
 ‘And also many other goodly manors of which we do not know the names’,
 (translation by Garmonsway 1984).

Negation is local when it is confined to a constituent, i.e. a word or a phrase (cf. *Wortnegation*, Schuchardt 1910: 11; *special negation*, Jespersen 1917: 44), as in the following four examples, in which the scope of the negation does not extend beyond the phrase denoting either one of the two alternatives (5), distance (6 and 7) or time span (8). In each case the rest of the clause, including the predicate verb, remains outside the scope of negation.

- (5) Ða ðe sua ricsieað, hi ricsiað of hira agnum dome, **næs of ðæs hiehstan deman** (*CP* 27.15).
 ‘Those who so rule, rule through their own power, not through that of the highest Judge’ (translation by Sweet 1958 [1871]).
- (6) Ys on Bretonelande sum fenn unmætre mycelnysse, þæt onginneð fram Grante ea, **naht feor fram þære cestre** (*Guthlac* 3.1).
 ‘In Britain there is a fen of immense size, which begins from the river Grant, not far from the city.’
- (7) Ðær wæs soplice **unfeorr** an swyna heord manegra manna læswiende (Matt(WSCp) viii.30).
 ‘There was indeed not far away feeding a herd of swine belonging to many people.’
- (8) Forðon **nalæs æfter myclum fæce** grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan þeode þæs grimman manes [MS T, mannes] wæs æfterfyligende (*Bede* 50.7).
 ‘Therefore after no long time direr vengeance for their dire sin overtook this depraved people’ (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

The adverb *næfre* and the phrase *nower seoðþan* ‘never afterwards’, differ from examples (5–8) quoted above. Following the definition of the scope of negation and drawing the conclusions according to the semantic influence (Quirk et al. 1985: 787), it can safely be concluded that *næfre* and *nower*, which represent the type of negators called “absolute negators” by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 788), make the whole clause negative in examples (9) and (10).

- (9) þa gewiton ealle þa wergan gastas onweg, þa ðe mec swencton 7 þrycton, 7 mec forleton 7 **nower seoðþan** æteawdon (*Bede* 186.14).

‘All the evil spirits departed, who tormented and oppressed me, and they left me and never appeared afterwards’ (translation based on Miller 1890 [1959]).

- (10) Petrus gecyrde eft to his fixnoðe. and matheus **næfre æfter his gecyrrednysse** æt tollsetle ne sæt (*ÆHom* 165.133).

‘Peter turned again to fishing, but Matthew after his conversion never sat at the toll-seat’ (translation by Thorpe 1846).

The adverb *næfre*, the phrase *nower seoðþan* and the like, in which the scope of negation stretches over the whole expression, are not included.

4. Two types of adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases of time and place will be discussed as two types in the present paper. Type (i) refers to the phrases such as *naht feor fram*, *nalæs æfter myclum fæce*, in which the negator is an adverb, while in type (ii) it is affixal, as in the phrase *unfeor fram*, ‘not far from’.

The OE lexical repertory for expressing local negation

The element *n-*, common to the OE negatives, goes back to the particle *ne*, from the older *ni*, ‘not’ (IE **ne*, related to IE **me*; Holthausen 1934 s.v. *ne*; Brugmann and Delbrück 1916: 974–976). After elision of the vowel the particle *ne* becomes a kind of negative prefix *n-*, attached to some adverbs, pronouns, conjunctions and verbs, provided that they begin with a vowel, *h-* or *w + vowel* (Sievers and Brunner 1951:172A; Hogg 1992: 187–188). Four of these negators, the adverbs *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and *næs*,⁴ will be discussed below.

⁴ Excluding the quotations, the forms *na*, *naht* and *nawiht* also refer to the spellings *no*, *noht*, *nowiht* etc. in this paper. The spellings *nalles*, *nales*, *nalæs* etc. are referred to by the spelling *nalles*. Whether *næs* and *nalles* represent two different words or whether they are variant forms of one adverb will not be discussed here.

Type (i)

Na. Amalgamation of the prefix *n-* with *a* or *o*, ‘ever’, gives *na* and *no*, ‘never’, which, after the loss of its temporal meaning by the OE period (Einenkel 1916: 79), becomes the adverb ‘not’ or ‘no’ (Holthausen 1934 s.v. *nā*; Campbell 1959: 52, fn3; Wright and Wright 1961: 69). – **Naht.** The pronoun *naht* < *nawiht* < *ne* + *awiht*, ‘nothing’, partly loses its pronominal function during the OE period and becomes the adverb *naht* (*noht*), ‘not’. This change is the prerequisite for its use in adverbial phrases. – **Nalles.** The spellings *nalas*, *nales*, *nallas*, *nalles*, *nals* etc. may represent two roots: (i) *nealles* < *ne* + *ealles*, Latin *nequaquam*, *neque omnino*, and (ii) *nalæs*, *-as*, *-es* < *na* + *læs* (Holthausen 1934 s.v. *nealles*, *nales*; Wülfing 1901: 295; see also Sievers 1903: 36). However, for syntactic purposes all these spellings can be discussed as forms of one word meaning ‘by no means’ or ‘not’ (Mitchell 1985: § 1620). – **Næs.** The adverb *næs*, which is a homonym of the contracted verb form *næs* < *ne* + *wæs*, may be regarded as a shortened form of the adverb *nalles* (Grimm 1890: 698), as grammaticalization of the contracted verb form *næs*, ‘was not’ (cf. Wülfing 1901: 291), or as a combination of ‘not’ and ‘yes’, (*ne* + *gise/gese* > *næs*, GK s.v. *næs*).

Type (ii)

Un-. The prefix *un-* goes back to the IE form *n-*, reduced from IE **ne* (OED, s.v. *un-*). It indicates the antithesis of the stem meaning in words like *ungelic* (vs. *gelic*) ‘dissimilar’, *unfeor* (vs. *feor*) ‘not far off’ and *unclænnes* (vs. *clænnes*) ‘uncleanness’. Sometimes the meaning is pejorative, as in *un-weder* ‘bad weather’ (Mitchell and Robinson 1986: 58).

5. Distribution of the negators in adverbial phrases of time and place

Table 2 shows the distribution of the adverbs *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and *næs*, and the frequencies of each of them in an adverbial phrase of time or place in the material being examined. As shown by the table, only 48 (=3.9 %) of the 1247 occurrences of the four adverbs are found in adverbial phrases of time and place. The table also shows that the adverbs *næs* and *na* nearly always occur in other contexts than in an adverbial phrase of time or place.

Table 2. Frequencies of the negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and *næs* in the corpus*

Negator	Total	In Adverbial Phrases of Time and Place		In other Contexts
	N	N	%	%
næs**	35	0	0.0	100.0
na	856	1	0.1	99.9
nalles	165	12	7.3	92.7
naht	191	35	18.3	81.7
	1247	48		

* all the spellings included

** contracted verb forms (*ne* + *wæs*, n = 202) excluded

The adverb *næs* mainly negates one of two alternatives locally (see example (5)), especially in the *Blickling Homilies*, *Orosius* and *Cura Pastoralis*. It does not introduce an adverbial phrase of time or place in the material. The adverb *na*, which is common in all texts, excluding the *Preface to Cura Pastoralis*, mainly negates phrases or words either alone, or in combination with another negative adverb. However, there is only one instance of the adverb *na* introducing an adverbial phrase of time in the corpus. The frequencies of both *nalles* (n=165) and *naht* (n=191) are relatively high, but their distribution is biased. The adverb *nalles*,⁵ which, like the adverb *na*, often negates words or phrases, is mainly an Anglian word, since some 80 per cent of the occurrences of *nalles* in the corpus are either in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (66 occurrences), Gregory's *Dialogues* MS C (29), the *Blickling Homilies* (3), or the three glosses of the *Vespasian Psalter* (26), the Lindisfarne (3) and Rushworth version (8) of the *Gospel of St Matthew*. It also occurs in early West Saxon texts, such as King Alfred's translations of *Cura Pastoralis* (19) and *Orosius* (9), but there are no examples of *nalles* in the late West Saxon material.

The particle *ne* does not normally introduce a phrase in prose. Examples, like *7 ne æfter monigum dagum* (Luke(Ru) xv.13), and *7 ne æfter menigum dagum* (Luke(Li) xv.13; "et non post multos dies"), are atypical and belong to the glosses. However, the particle *ne* occurs in the solitary instance of the word *nehuarne* of unknown origin (cf. *nehuarne* < *ne hwær ne* (?), Cook 1894, s.v. *nehuarne*), which glosses Latin *non longe* in the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew* (see (11)). In both the West Saxon and the Rushworth versions the translation of the Latin phrase is the adverb *unfeor*, 'not far off' (see also example (7)).

- (11) wæs uutedlice **nehuarne** long from him [vel] ðæm suner berga monigra gefoede (*Matt*(Li) viii.30; "erat autem non longe ab illis grex porcorum multorum pas-cens").

'And there was a good way off from them a herd of many swine feeding.'

The prefix *un-*, used as an affixal negator (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:788), occurs 23 times in adverbial phrases of type (ii) in the corpus. The adverbs that function alone as adverbials are the following: *ungeara* (2 occurrences) and *unfyrn* (5), both meaning either 'not long ago' or 'before long' (BT s.v. *ungeara*, *unfyrn*), and *unfeor* (13), 'not far off' (BT s.v. *unfeor*). Less commonly a phrase is introduced by the adjective *unmanig* (2), 'not many', or *unmycel* (1), 'not much'. A closer analysis of the figures and examples presented above calls for a separate discussion of both types (i) and (ii).

The distribution of the adverbs *na* (1), *nalles* (10), *naht* (14), and the prefix *un-* (10) in adverbial phrases of time is shown in Table 3. The figures indicate that

⁵ To be kept separate from the contracted verb forms *nallas*, *nælles* etc. in the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*, see Kolbe (1912: 105).

some 90 per cent of such phrases in the corpus occur either in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* or the two manuscripts of Gregory's *Dialogues*. In addition, there is one instance of the adverb *naht* in *The Life of St. Chad*, and two occurrences of the prefix *un-* in the *Blickling Homilies*.

Table 3. Negators in adverbial phrases of time

Negator	Distribution	N
naht	<i>Bede</i> 7; <i>GD</i> (C) 6; <i>Chad</i> 1	14
nalles	<i>Bede</i> 10	10
na	<i>GD</i> (C) 1	1
un-	<i>Bede</i> 3; <i>GD</i> (C) 4; <i>GD</i> (H) 1; <i>BlHom</i> 2	10
		35

Occasionally a prepositional phrase, such as *æfter noht mycele fyrste* (12), 'after not a long time', and *æfter unmongum gearum* (13), 'after not many years', functions as an adverbial phrase.

- (12) 7 **æfter noht mycele fyrste** ðæs his æfterfyligend of byssum middanearde geferde (*Bede* 20.34; "nec multo post successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit", *CM* 326.28).

'And not a long time afterwards his successor departed from this earth.'

- (13) Ða gelomp **æfter unmongum gearum**, þætte Penda Mercna cyning cwom mid Mercna here in þa stowe (*Bede* 204.13; "post aliquot annos", *CM* 264.13).

'It happened after not many years that Penda, the king of the Mercians, came to that place with the Mercian host.'

Instances of the same kind include the phrases *æfter naht manegum dagum*, 'after not many days' (*GD*(C) 28.16 and 225.29); *æfter noht mongum gearum*, 'after not many years' (*Bede* 170.9); *æfter noht longre tiide*, 'after not a long time' (*Bede* 420.18); and the following: 7 he þa **æfter unmanegum gearum** of byssum leohte alæded wæs (*Bede* 448.18; 'and he was carried away from this world after not many years'), and þa **æfter unmycelum fæce** he becom to Rome (*GD*(H) 133.7; 'after a little time he went to Rome'). The structure of the phrase differs if the negator is the adverb *nalles*, since it is positioned immediately before the prepositional phrase, as in *nales æfter micelre tide* (example (14), *Bede* 8.10 and 142.12) and *nales æfter myclum fæce* (*Bede* 50.7, 378.1 and 456.30), both meaning 'after not much time'.

- (14) Ac heo **nales æfter micelre tide**, þæs þe þæt mynster getimbred wæs, gewat to þære ceastre, þe in Englisc is gehaten Kwelcaceaster (*Bede* 332.27; "Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur", *CM* 406.31).

‘But she, soon after the monastery was erected, withdrew to the town which in English is called Tadcaster’ (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

The adverb *nalles* seems to belong only to Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* in such phrases, since no further examples of the same kind are recorded in prose (DOEC).

Short phrases are mainly introduced by the adverb *naht*: for example, *naht lang ær* (15), *noht micle ær* (16), *noht micelre tide ær* (Bede 302.2), all meaning ‘not long before’; *naht fea tide* (Chad 225), ‘not a little time’, and *naht micelre tide æfter* (Bede 178.18), ‘not a long time after’. There are solitary instances of the adverb *nalles* introducing an adverbial phrase in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, such as *nales micelre tide æfter* (Bede 112.34) ‘not a long time after’, and the phrase *nales monegum dagum betweoh gesettum* (Bede 288.22), which translates Latin “nam non multis interpositis diebus”, (CM 360.22; ‘after a period of not many days’). Once *nalles* is part of a comparative construction, *Ge eac se seolfa biscop Aidan nales ma þonne þy twelftan dæge æfter þæs cyninges slege*, [...], *of þisse worulde alæded wæs* (Bede 198.14; ‘Bishop Aidan himself was taken from this world, not more than twelve days after the death of the king.’).

- (15) þæt se arwyrþa wer Stephanus se abbod, se forðferde in þissere ilcan byrig **naht lang ær þysum** (GD(C) 275.22; “quod vir venerabilis abbas Stephanus, qui non longe ante hoc in hac orbe defunctus est ...”, UM 243.3).

‘That the venerable man, Stephen, the abbot, died in this city not long since.’

- (16) Ðæt mynster wæs geworden 7 getimbred **noht micle ær** from Hegiu þære æfestan Cristes þeowe (Bede 332.23; “quod uidelicet monasterium factum erat non multo ante a religiosa Christi famula Heiu”, CM 406.27).

‘This monastery was founded and erected, not long before, by Hegiu the pious servant of Christ’ (translation by Miller 1950 [1890]).

The affixal negator *un-* introduces an adverbial phrase of time six times in the corpus. The instances of the adverb *ungeara* in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (17) and the *Blickling Homilies* (101.28) seem to be the only occurrences of *ungeara* in prose (DOEC). The adverb *unfyrn* occurs four times in Gregory’s *Dialogues* (example (18), and in GD(C) 62.27, 226.3 and 289.2) and once in the *Blickling Homilies* (BlHom 131.7). The adverb *unfyrn* refers to the future in the following: *þæt he dead byð unfyrn* (GD(C) 62.27; cf. *þæt he is dead* GD(H) 62.26; ‘that he is dead’). Again, there are no further examples of the adverb *unfyrn* in prose (DOEC), but the longer form, *ungefyrn* ‘at no distant date’, ‘before long’, ‘soon’ (BT s.v. *ungefyrn*), is recorded twice in OE prose (DOEC).

- (17) Ic wæs **ungeara** on neaht abisgad on weacenum 7 on sealmsonge 7 on gebedum (*Bede* 354.1; “Nuper occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis”, *CM* 424.18).

‘Not long ago, I was occupied at night in vigils and psalm singing and prayer’ (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

- (18) Iulianus ... 7 he wæs nu **unfyrn [for lyttlum fyrste, H]** on þissere ylcan byrig forðfered (*GD(C)* 71.18; “Iulianus ..., qui ante non longum tempus in hac orbe defunctus est”, *MU* 58.15).

‘Julianus ..., who died not a long time ago in this city.’

Spatial phrases may also be used metaphorically for time expressions (cf. Haspelmath 1997: 140–141). The phrase *naht feor*, ‘not far away’, which basically refers to spatial relationships, as in example (6), *naht feor from þære cestre*, ‘not far from the city’, translates the Latin phrase *nec longe post*, ‘not long after’, in *7 me þa sona wæs æt naht feorr æfter þon sum færende scip* (*GD(C)* 347.33; ‘And there was next to me, not long after that, a passing ship’).

The adverb *na*, which is by far the most common of the four adverbs studied, introduces an adverbial phrase of time once in the material, i.e. in the phrase *na ealles full geare*, which translates Latin *non ante longa tempora* in Gregory’s *Dialogues* (19). Literally, *na ealles* means ‘not at all’ (cf. DOE s.v. *eall* adj. C.1.e.i).

- (19) þær wæs eac oðer cyricweard **na ealles full geare**, þæs þe ure yldran witan sædon, se wæs haten Habundius. se wæs mycelre eadmodnesse 7 gestæððig- nesse wer 7 getreowlice þeowiende þam ælmihtigan Gode (*GD(C)* 228.4; “Alius illic non ante longa tempora, sicut nostri seniores ferunt, custus aeccliesiae Acontius dictus est magnae humilitatis atque gravitatis vir, ita omnipotenti Deo fideliter serviens”, *UM* 194.17).

‘There was also another churchwarden, not very long ago, as our elder said, who was called Habundius. He was a man of great humility and seriousness and served the Almighty God faithfully.’

The distribution of the negators *naht* (20 occurrences), *nalles* (2), *nehuarne* (1) and the affixal negator *un-* (13) in the adverbial phrases of place in the texts studied is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Negatives in adverbial phrases of place

Negative	Distribution	N
naht	<i>Bede</i> 10; <i>GD</i> (C) 10; <i>BlHom</i> 1	21
nales	<i>Bede</i> 2	2
nehuarne	<i>Matt</i> (Li) 1	1
unfeor	<i>Bede</i> 2; <i>GD</i> (C) 4; <i>GD</i> (H) 4; <i>BlHom</i> 1; <i>Matt</i> (Ru) 1; <i>Matt</i> (WSCp) 1	13
		37

Again, the distribution is biased, since the occurrences are mainly in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, or the two manuscripts of Gregory's *Dialogues*. In the majority of instances, the adverb *naht*, or the prefix *un-*, introduces a phrase which expresses shortness of distance from a location, indicated by a noun such as *byrig* 'city', *hus* 'house', *mynster* 'monastery', etc. The phrases *naht feor fram* and *unfeor fram*, both meaning 'not far from', often translate Latin *non longe* or *non procul* in the corpus (examples (20), (21), and *Bede* 138.12; 262.14; 388.3 [*nowiht B*]; 388.14; *GD*(H) 142.19; 151.13; *GD* (C) 151.14; *GD*(O) 215.16, and *BlHom* 43.25, see appendix).

- (20) þa wæs he in þæm cynelecan tune **noht** (**nowiht B**) **feorr from þære byrig** þe we ær foresprecende wæron (*Bede* 202.24; "[...] erat in uilla regia non longe ab urbe ...", *CM* 262.24).

'He was then at that royal residence, not far from the city we have mentioned before' (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

- (21) witodlice þær wæs mynster **unfeorr fram heora huse** (*GD*(C) 205.22; "non longe autem erat monasterium", *UM* 170.4).

'Certainly there was a monastery not far from their house.'

Occasionally the preposition is dropped. Hence, the dative occurs without any preposition in example (22), and again in *se eardode naht feorr þæs oðres huse* (*GD*(C) 318.13; 'who did not live far from the other's house').

- (22) Wæs sumes gesiðes tun, se wæs Puh haten, **noht feor ussum mynstre** (*Bede* 394. 14; "Villa erat comitis cuiusdam, ..., non longe a monasterio nostro", *CM* 462.9).

'The residence of a certain gesith, named Puh, was not far from our monastery' (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

The adverb *unfeor* is itself a kind of preposition (Wülfing 1901: 676f.), used with the dative, in the following: *þæt is unfeor þære byrig Neapoli* (*Bede* 254.1; 'that is not far from the city of Naples'). Unlike the phrase *naht feor*, the adverb *unfeor* may be positioned after a prepositional phrase introduced by *fram*, as in *Eac þær*

wæs fram þam mynstre unfeor sum tun (GD(C) 142.19; ‘there was a city not far from the monastery’), and *from þæm mynstre unfeor wæs þære abbudessan mynster* (Bede 184.11; ‘the convent of the abbess was not far from the monastery’). Exceptionally, in such constructions the scope of negation extends backwards (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 787–794), since the stretch of language over which the affixal negator *un-* has a semantic influence precedes the negation.

Location is also indicated by the deictic adverbs *þanon*, ‘from there’, and *heonan* ‘from here’, which indicate direction from a location deducible from the text. The examples include *heonan noht feor*, ‘not far from here’ (Bede 28.13), *þanon noht feor* (Bede 308.15), *naht / noht feor þanon* or *þanon* ‘not far from there’ (GD(C) 98.26; 201.4 and Bede 320.7), and *unfeor þanon*, ‘not far off’ (GD(C) 219.11, etc.). The adverb *þær*, ‘there’, is another deictic adverb, which occurs in the phrase *þær unfeor*, ‘there not far away’, in *BlHom* 227.24, GD(H) 103.23 and example (23), where the phrase refers to some location in the vicinity of the monastery.

- (23) *he ferde to his mynstre 7 þa gewicode þær naht feor* [H *unfeorr*] (GD(C) 130. 21).

‘He went towards his monastery, and stayed there (in a place) not far away.’

The adverb *nalles* introduces a prepositional phrase of place twice in the texts studied. Both examples are in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, viz. *nales in oðre stowe butan in middum hire hiwum*, ‘in no other place than among her family’ (Bede 318.30), and the double negative construction *nalas in ungelicum selde* (24), ‘not in a not-similar place’ (Latin *indissimili*). Miller’s translation of this phrase is ‘in a similar place’ (24), whereas Colgrave and Mynors translate the original Latin more emphatically: “he might be counted worthy to depart from the body with him at one and the same hour, and also to be received into one and the same dwelling of perpetual bliss” (CM 443.2). In general, a litotes expression always has a wide range of possible shades of meaning (Bracher 1937: 915; Hoffmann 1987: 97). According to some authors, double negative constructions are a kind of prototype of litotes (Hoffmann 1987: 38–39).⁶

- (24) *þæt swa swa he in ane tid 7 in ða ilcan mid hine of lichoman gongende wæs, þæt he ðonne ec swylce swa mid hine nalas in ungelicum selde* þære ecan eadig-nesse gearnode onfongen beon (Bede 372.32).

⁶ Wärtli makes a distinction between convex and concave negation. Negation is convex (*konvex Negation*) if it is used to strengthen a positive statement. Concave negation (*konkav Negation*) is usually used to weaken a negative statement (Wärtli 1935: 55–65; Mitchell 1976: 29–30).

‘so that, as he was parted from the body at one and the same time with him, he might also merit to be received along with him in a similar place in eternal bliss’ (translation by Miller 1959 [1890]).

This discussion indicates that the adverb *naht* and the prefix *un-* are intersubstitutable in various constructions or syntagms, i.e. strings of morphemes that form part of a larger syntactic unit (see Lyons 1993: 240–241). Such syntagms include the following synonymous pairs in the corpus: *naht feor (fram) – unfeor (fram)*, *naht feor þanon – unfeor þanon* and *æfter naht manegum gearum (dagum) – æfter unmanegum gearum (dagum)*. Due to their intersubstitutability, the variants are said to be in a paradigmatic relationship with one another (ibid.) and indicate synchronic variation in the texts in which they occur. The adverb *nalles* differs from them.⁷

Variation in the adverbial phrases cannot be explained only by studying the structural or internal factors. Variation may also be due to contextual-situational (external) factors, such as style, medium (written or spoken), text-category and register. The last mentioned refers to the use of language as “related to subject matter, purpose and situation, incl. stylistic expressivity and communicative efficiency” (Rydén 1979: 12–13.) In this paper, the external factors will be discussed under diachronic, diatopic, and genre-based variation.

6. Diachronic variation

In Table 5, the present corpus has been categorized into sub-periods I and II in order to pursue a discussion on diachronic variation. The categories build on the classification of Old English texts in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC).⁸ Since the categorization of HC is based on the dating of the manuscript, MS C of Gregory’s *Dialogues* falls into sub-period II. However, an earlier date of MS C, i.e. sub-period I, cannot be ruled out, since the discussion above shows that there are obvious similarities between the adverbial constructions in MS C and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (end of the tenth century, Miller 1959 [1890]: xv; Ker 351; s. x¹). Hence, the relative frequencies of instances per 10,000 words are indicated as two values for both sub-periods and types in the right-hand columns of Table 5.

⁷ For example, expressions such as the following do not belong to the type ‘not far from’: *ðu soðlice [dryhten] nales feor do ðu fultum ðinne from me to gescildnisse minre geloca* (PsGLA (Kuhn) 21.17; “Tu autem domine **ne longe** facias auxilium tuum a me, ad defensionem meam aspice”); and again in (PsGLA (Kuhn) 39.12.

⁸ Table 5 only comprises the documents in *Charters* (Rob) which are included in HC. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ChronA) and Wulfstan’s *Homilies* (WHom) have been classified into the sub-periods in compliance with HC.

Table 5. Categorization of the corpus in two sub-periods

Sub-period	Word count	Text	Type						
			N		(i) adverb		(ii) prefix		
			adverb	prefix	fq/10 000 words				
OE I (-950)	247,503	<i>Bede*,CP,Ps(A), Chron.A, Or, CPPref, Charters (Rob)</i>	29	5	1.1	(1.3)	0.2	(0.4)	
OE II (950-1150)	373,136	<i>BlHom*, Matt(Li)*,Matt(Ru)*, Matt(WSCp)*, GD(H)*,GD(C)*, Chad*, Charters (Rob), Chron.A, WHom(03), ÆTemp, ÆHom, ÆGenPref, ÆHeptPref, WHom(03/4),</i>	20	18	0.5	(0.1)	0.5	(0.4)	

*Asterisk marks the texts with negators in the adverbial phrases of time and place.
There are two values in the right hand columns. Provided that MS C of Gregory's *Dialogues* is included in sub-period II, the values are not in brackets, whereas when MS C is included in sub-period I, they are in brackets.

Bishop Wærferth of Worcester translated the *Dialogues* into English sometime between the early 870s and early 890s, at King Alfred’s request (Yerkes 1982: 8–12). Wærferth’s original translation survives in two manuscripts, i.e. MS C (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 322), which is a copy from the eleventh century, and MS O (Cotton Otho C.i, vol.2, fols. 1–137), which was copied in two stages. The first two books of the translation of MS O were copied by a scribe at the beginning of the eleventh century, perhaps in the South-West, whereas “another scribe copied the last two books at Worcester about forty years later, in the middle of the century.” (Yerkes 1979: xvi.) They both contain all four books of the *Dialogues*, whereas MS H (Bodleian, Hatton 76, fols. 1–54), a translation made a century or a century and a half after Wærferth’s time by an anonymous Reviser, probably at Worcester, comprises about three-quarters of Books I and II of the translation (Yerkes 1982: 9–10).

Since Hecht lists MS O’s variants from MS C at the foot of each page of his edition of the *Dialogues*, comparisons can be made between them. The results show that the adverbial phrases of time and place are mostly identical in both manuscripts, disregarding some minor spelling differences in the phrases, such as *naht* vs. *noht*, and *feor* vs. *feorr*. In fact, there are only three minor lexical differences in the adverbials, viz. *unfeor* (*GD(C)* 219.11 and 314.1) vs. *noht feor* (MS O), and *naht feor þanon* (*GD(C)* 98.25) vs. *noht swyðe feor þonon* (MS O). The similarity of the adverbial constructions between these two manuscripts on the one hand, and between them and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* on the other, is obvious. It is plausible that the adverbial phrases of time and place in MS C and MS O point to the date of composition rather than to sub-period II (cf. Timofeeva 2010: 6).

No examples of adverbial phrases of either type are recorded in the earliest prose texts in the corpus or the DOEC. The discussion above indicates that the word *naht* begins to lose its pronominal function in King Alfred’s time, around 900 A.D. This change is the prerequisite for its use in adverbial phrases. The earliest examples of *naht* in such phrases are found in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* and

Gregory's *Dialogues* (MS O and MS C). During sub-period II, the adverb occurs in the *Blickling Homilies* (late tenth century, Campbell 1959: 9; Ker 382: x. s/ xi), and later, in *The Life of St. Chad* (Ker 333: 1; s. xii¹). The adverb *nalles* is contemporary with *naht* in phrases of type (i). However, no examples of *nalles* in adverbial phrases of time or place are recorded during sub-period II in the corpus or the DOEC.

The figures in the right-hand columns of Table 5 indicate the relative frequency of occurrences per 10,000 words for both types of adverbials. The figures show a declining trend (from 1.1 to 0.5) for type (i), when we move towards sub-period II. The trend for adverbials of type (ii) grows (from 0.2 to 0.5) when we move from the first towards the second sub-period. The adverbs *unfeor*, *unfyrn*, *ungeara*, and in some phrases the adjectives *unmanig* and *unmycel*, function as adverbials, either alone or as part of a phrase, from sub-period I onwards. Texts with such phrases from sub-period II include the *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew*, (tenth century, Ker 292: s.x), the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew* (c. mid-tenth century, Ker 165: s.x²), the West Saxon version of the *Gospel of St. Matthew* (c. 1000, Ker 35: s.xi¹–xii; Skeat 1887: vi), *The Blickling Homilies* and MS H of Gregory's *Dialogues*. The examples of the prefix *un-* in the adverbials of type (ii) in the corpus cover some 50 per cent of all the occurrences of such adverbials in the DOEC. In addition, the following instances are recorded in poetry: *unfeor* (*GenA,B* 2080 and 2926), *unfyrn* (*And* 1368) and *ungeara* (*Sat* 391, *Jul* 117, *Beo* 601 and 932). The prefix *un-* also occurs in the adverb *unseldan*, as, for example, in the formula *oft and unseldan*, 'often and not seldom' (quoted from the DOEC). The inclusion of MS C of the *Dialogues* in sub-period I instead of sub-period II alters the word counts and relative frequencies significantly (Table 5), but again, as the figures in the brackets (1.3 and 0.1) indicate, the trend is declining for the adverbials of type (i). On the contrary, the key ratio of the adverbials of type (ii) stays the same (0.4 and 0.4) during both sub-periods.

7. Diatopic variation

The compilation of the present corpus was planned with the view of enabling discussion on diatopic variation, i.e. variation according to place and geographical area. The four attested OE dialects are Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish and West Saxon (Crowley 1986: 98). However, identifying dialectal variation of OE syntax is often problematic. Our knowledge about the texts and whose language they reflect is narrow (Toon 1992: 414–415). Anglian material is scarce, and the original texts have probably lost some of the characteristics that they once had during the process of copying and standardization by later scribes, mostly of West Saxon extraction (Campbell 1951: 350–354; Crowley 1986: 101; Ingham 2006: 244). However, in most cases a line may be drawn between the West Saxon texts and those of non-West Saxon origin (Campbell 1951: 353–354).

In order to discuss diatopic variation, the relative frequencies of the adverbial phrases of time and place of both types (i) and (ii) were calculated for each text. Table 6 contains the texts in which the relative frequency deviates from zero. The remaining texts in which there are no occurrences of either type have been excluded.

Apart from MS H of Gregory's *Dialogues* and the *West Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew*, the texts in Table 6 are non-West Saxon. The texts with adverbials of type (i) comprise *The Life of St. Chad*, originally Mercian (Vleeskruyer 1953: 7–8; Schabram 1965: 35), MS C of Gregory's *Dialogues* which clearly shows Mercian elements (HC; Potter 1931: 26–27), and the *Blickling Homilies* which belongs to the “mixed dialect” category of texts (HC; *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE)).

Table 6. Frequencies of adverbial phrases of time and place / 10,000 words in the corpus

Text	N	Type (i)/(ii)
<i>Chad</i>	1	3.8 / 0.0
<i>Bede</i>	34	3.6 / 0.6
<i>GD(C)</i>	25	1.9 / 0.9
<i>BlHom</i>	4	0.2 / 0.7
<i>Matt(Li)</i>	1	0.5 / 0.0
<i>Matt(Ru)</i>	1	0.0 / 0.5
<i>GD(H)</i>	5	0.0 / 2.0
<i>Matt(WSCp)</i>	1	0.0 / 0.5

The dialectal background of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* has been discussed ever since Thomas Miller, who, in the introduction of his edition of the *History* (Miller 1959 [1890]: passim), claimed that the origin of the text was Mercian. At times, Miller's views have been ignored, but, as Dorothy Whitelock (1980: 57) points out, some of the evidence regarding the vocabulary “seems to point specifically to Mercia” (see also Rowley 2011:27). There is also the solitary instance of the adverbial *nehuarne* in the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*, which is of Northumbrian origin (Crowley 1986: 102; HC; YCOE). In addition, the prefix *un-* introduces an adverbial phrase once in the *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew*, which represents the Mercian dialect (Campbell 1959: 7; HC; Breeze 1996: 394–395), and the *West Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew*.

MS C and MS H of Gregory's *Dialogues* represent different dialects. MS C follows Wærferth's original translation, whereas there seems to be no consensus on the Reviser's dialect. In his treatise on the two versions of Wærferth's translations, Yerkes refers to the Reviser's own idiom and “to his dialect of Old English” (Yerkes 1982: 10), but MS H has also been regarded as West Saxon (YCOE), or West Saxon with dialectal elements defined as “unknown” (HC).

Yerkes (1982: 9–10) shows that the Reviser altered not only the spelling and vocabulary, but also the syntax of the original translation. According to him, many

of the changes made by the Reviser bring the wording of his translation closer to the Latin of Gregory. The figures in Table 6 indicate that the two versions differ significantly with respect to the adverbials, since the Reviser seems to avoid the word *naht* completely as an adverb. In his translation, he resorts either to an adverbial introduced by the prefix *un-* (cf. example 25), and again in *GD(H)* 103.22, 142.19 and 151.13, or to a pattern without any negative (cf. examples (26), (27) and *GD(H)* 69.28). In one instance, there is no negative in MS C while the Reviser's version has the prefix *un-*: 7 þa æfter lytlum fæce [*unmycelum fæce*, H] *he gesohte to Romesbyrig* (*GD(C)* 133.7). The examples seem to suggest that the adverbial phrases of type (i) were considered either outdated or inapt in the Reviser's dialect, and needed revision.

- (25) þa ferde he to his mynstre 7 þær **unfeor** gewicode (*GD(H)* 130.20). He ferde to his mynstre ond þa gewicode þær **naht feor** (*GD(C)* 130.21)

‘He went towards his monastery, and stayed there (in a place) not far away.’

- (26) ða æfter **naht manegum dagum** [**feawum dagum** H] ferde se Godes man hwene fyr fram þam mynstre (*GD(C)* 28.16).

‘Not many days after [after a few days] the servant of God travelled somewhat farther from the monastery.’

- (27) 7 he wæs nu **unfyrn** [**for lytlum fyrste** H] on þissere ylcan byrig forðfered (*GD(C)* 71.18).

‘and he died not long since [a short time ago] in this same city.’

The figures in Table 6 indicate that adverbials of type (i) mainly point to the non-West Saxon dialects. So do the two instances of the adverb *naht* in the phrase *naht lange æfter*, ‘not long time after’, in the *Old English Martyrology*,⁹ since this collection also belongs to the category of “mixed dialect” with Mercian elements (HC). It is not clear whether example (6) from the prose *Guthlac*, *naht feor fram þære cestre*, ‘not far from the city’ (*Guthlac* 3.1), quoted above, can be included in the same category. The prose *Guthlac* was originally an Anglian text, probably composed in the late ninth century. However, it only survives in a version which represents “a late West Saxon revision and modernization of the lost older text” (Whatley 1997: 193). A few instances outside the corpus may be added from the DOEC,¹⁰ such as *æfter naht feala daga*, ‘after not many days’ (*LS* 30 (Pantaleon) 96), and *þa æfter nowiht manigum wintrum*, ‘after not many winters’ (*LS* 35 (VitPatr) 183). The phrase *æfter naht manegum dagum*, ‘after not many days’,

⁹ Quoted from DOEC: Mart 5 (Kotzor) Ja 21, A.16; Ma 23, A.10 and Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) Ju 29, B.26.

¹⁰ Quoted from the DOEC.

occurs twice in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (*ÆLS* xxiiiB 350 and 655). The examples from Sermon No. xxiiiB are non-Ælfrician, since, according to Ker (1957: 162), this sermon is a later addition to the collection, composed by an anonymous author whose dialect is not known.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 788–799) make a distinction between the absolute negators (*no, nothing, neither, never* etc.) and the approximate negators (*few, little, barely, hardly, scarcely, rarely, seldom*). The examination of the material shows that, in addition to the absolute negators *na, naht* and *nalles*, shortness of time or distance can also be expressed by resorting to approximate negators, as exemplified by *æfter feawum dagum*, 'after a few days', and *for lytlum fyrste*, 'not long since' (examples (26) and (27) above). Ælfric is among the authors who use approximate negators, cf. phrases¹¹ such as *æfter feawum dagum* (*ÆCHom* I 345.6; 380.26; *ÆLS* (Martin) 207, etc.), 'after a few days', *æfter feawum gearum* (*ÆCHom* II 171.55), 'after a few years', and *æfter lytlum fyrste* (*ÆCHom* I 425.187, *ÆCHom* II 198.261 and 290.95, *ÆLS* (Martin) 522, 639, 915 etc.), 'after a little time'. He can also choose the positive polarity and use adverbs like *sona* 'soon', and *neah* 'near' etc. However, there is an example of the adverb *na* introducing the phrase 'not very far from there' in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, *þa ferde martinus na swyðe feor þanon*, *ÆLS* xxxi.444.

In conclusion, adverbial phrases introduced by an adverb (type (i)) point to texts with non-West Saxon elements, whereas those introduced by the prefix *un-* (type (ii)), and phrases with approximate negators, such as 'after a little time' and 'a short time ago', are recorded both in West Saxon and non-West Saxon material.

8. Genre-based variation

The distribution of the adverbial phrases of time and place is biased (Table 6). The bulk of temporal and spatial adverbials occur in texts which are translations from Latin. In fact, more than 90 per cent of the phrases of type (i) are found either in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* or MS C of Gregory's *Dialogues*. Four of the texts in the table, i.e. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the two manuscripts of Gregory's *Dialogues* and *The Life of St. Chad*, represent the prototypical text category "non-imaginative narration" (HC). These disproportions call for a closer examination.

The frequent occurrence of temporal and spatial adverbials seems to be characteristic of narration. Durian (1998: 4) states that in "conjunction with the preterit tense, narrators use time and deictic adverbials in narrative discourse to establish the reference time of the narrative and to ground the discourse temporally and spatially." Hence, the text type may partly explain the preponderance of the litotes type of temporal and spatial adverbials in the narrative texts. However, the fact that a text represents the type of "nonimaginative narration" does not, in itself, imply that it has examples of litotes. There are no instances of temporal or spatial

¹¹ Quoted from the DOEC.

adverbials of the litotes type in, for example, MS A of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which also belongs to the category “non-imaginative narration”. In the *Chronicle* the adverbials mainly refer to definite time periods, as in the following example: *Her Ælle cyning forþ ferde, 7 Æþelric ricsode æfter him v gear*, ‘In this year king Ælle passed away, and Æthelric reigned five years after him’ (*ChronA* 20.5 AD 588, translation by Garmonsway 1984). The likely reason for the difference between the *Chronicle* and e.g. MS C of Gregory’s *Dialogues* in this respect may be the fact that the former is mainly independent of Latin sources, whereas the latter represents a fairly close translation from Latin. The examples of the litotes type in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* and Gregory’s *Dialogues* may be regarded as stylistic features triggered by the original Latin texts.

The translations of both Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* and MS C of Gregory’s *Dialogues* date back to the first sub-period of OE. Since literary vernacular prose from pre-Alfredian time is scarce, we have to assume that the only models available for the translator of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* and for Wærferth consisted of continuous interlinear glosses (Thijs 2006: 276–285). However, instead of glossing, they both lean towards King Alfred’s method of translating *hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgiet of andgi[e]te*, (*CPPref* 7.19), ‘at times word for word, at times sense for sense’. A good command of the source language was a prerequisite for a proper translation, but it was equally important to master the vernacular in order to find expressions that were congruent with the meaning of the original. The audience for which the translations were made could not be ignored. Both works belonged to the category of important texts which, according to King Alfred’s words, were most needful for all free men in England to know (*CPPref*). The learned could read the texts by themselves in the original Latin, but there were also the illiterate to consider. Presumably, both Wærferth’s *Dialogues* and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* were also meant to be read aloud to a listening audience (Thijs 2006: 285–286; Molyneaux 2009: 1296).

In both texts, the use of negation often conforms with the original in adverbial phrases of type (i), as, for example, in *nales æfter micelre tide*, Latin *post non multum tempus*, ‘not after a long time’, and *noht feor ussum mynstre*, Latin *non longe a monasterio nostro*, ‘not far from our monastery’, etc. Both Wærferth and the translator of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* seem to aim at as close a translation as possible. According to Hoffmann (1987: 195ff.), Latin authors regarded the *negatio contrarii* type of expressions as stylistic embellishments. There is good reason to assume that the OE translators viewed such expressions as a rhetoric means worth retaining in their translations. Nonetheless, the use of litotes (understatement) is a common Germanic feature, especially in poetry, and it is not merely a borrowing from Latin (Wärthli 1935; Ingersoll 1978: 11).

Presumably, some of the proliferation of adverbial phrases of type (i) in the two translations are due to “language contact through translation” (see Timofeeva 2010: 14–16), but occasionally the translations seem to point in another direction.

There is no negative in examples (28) or (29), or in *Bede* 168.17, 168.28, 204.10, 422.12, *GD(H)* 28.16, or *GD(H)* 71.12 (see appendix). The examples show that neither Wærferth nor the translator of Bede's *History* translates slavishly (see also Thijs 2006: 279–285; Molyneux 2009: 1291).

- (28) þa blon **micelre tiide** se biscopdom (*Bede* 252.10; “Tunc cessante non pauco tempore episcopatu”, *CM* 328.7).

‘As the see had remained vacant for a considerable time’ (translation by CM).

- (29) þær he **mycle tid** for Dryhtne campode (*Bede* 374.3; “ubi non paruo tempore pro Domino militaret” *CM* 442.6).

‘where he had fought for the Lord for no small space of time’ (translation by CM).

The non-negative phrases, such as *micelre tiide*, ‘a considerable time’, and *mycle tid*, ‘a long time’, probably represent regular OE idioms, whereas the longer adverbial phrases of type (i) are considered exceptional and marked.

9. Concluding remarks

The purpose of this study was to find out how the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *næs* and the prefix *un-* vary according to the date, dialect and the text type in adverbial phrases of time and place. The discussion was based on a synchronic description of the succeeding stages and a statistical analysis of the data which consisted of a selected corpus.

The analysis shows that the negators occurring in the phrases studied are mostly the affixal negator *un-* and the absolute negators *naht* or *nalles*. Whether the adverbs *naht* and *nalles* are in free variation in such phrases is difficult to decide, since the material is scanty and biased. The three types of variation examined in the article – diachronic, diatopic and genre-based – suggest that the adverbials studied are early rather than late, Mercian rather than West Saxon, and disproportionately common in narrative texts. The proliferation of such constructions in King Alfred's day probably points to language contact through translation. Litotes type adverbials are stylistically marked and they are used, like their Latin counterparts, as embellishments.

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Appendix

Adverbial phrases in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Gregory's *Dialogues*

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*

ac *nales æfter micelre tide* þæt hi geweredon wið him, 7 heora wæpen hwyrfdon wið Bryttas heora gefaran Bede 8.9. sed *non multo post* iuncto cum his foedere in socios arma uerterit CM 10.2.

7 *æfter noht mycele fyrste* ðæs his æfterfyligend of þyssum middanearde geferde Bede 20.34. *nec multo post* successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit CM 326.28.

We witan heonan *noht feor* oðer ealond eastrichte Bede 28.13. Nouimus insulam esse aliam *non procul* a nostra contra ortum solis CM 18.13.

Forðon *nales æfter myclum fæce* grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan þeode þæs grimman manes [mannes T] wæs æfterfyligende Bede 50.7. Vnde *non multo post* acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est CM 48.21.

Ac þa arleasan cyningas *nales micelre tide*, æfter þon þe heo þone soðfæstnisse bodan from him adrifon, þæt heo deofla bigængum freolice þeowedon Bede 112.34. Sed *non multo tempore* reges, qui praeconem a se ueritatis expulerant, daemonis cultibus inpune seruiebant CM 152.30.

Is seo stow gyt æteawed gu ðeara deofulgilda, *noht feor east from Eoforwicceastre* begeondan Deorwentan þære ea Bede 138.12. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum *non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem* ultra amnem Deruentionem CM 186.3.

Ono hwæt Eorpwald þa se cyning *nales æfter micelre tide* wæs ofslegen from sumum hæðnum men, Ricberht hatte Bede 142.12. Verum Eorpuwald *non multo*, postquam fidem accepit, *tempore* occisus est a uiro gentili nomine Ricbercto CM 190.13.

ond *sona æfter medmiclum fæce* þa meahht forleas þæs eorðlican rices Bede 168.17. et *non multo post* etiam regni terrestris potentiam perdidit CM 232.28.

þa com in Westseaxe sum biscop of Ibernias Scotta ealonde, þæs noma wæs Ægelberht. Wæs he Gallia cynnes; ac for leornunge haligra gewreota he wæs *micelre tide* in Ibernias Scotta ealonde wuniende Bede 168.28. uenit in prouinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam nomine Agilberctus, natione quidem Gallus sed tunc legendarum gratia scripturarum in Hibernia *non paruo tempore* demoratus CM 234.7.

Ða wæs *æfter noht monegum gearum* æfter his onweggewitenesse of Breotone, þætte Wine wæs adrifen from þæm ilcan cyninge of his biscopseðle Bede 170.9.

Non multis autem annis post abscessum eius a Britannia *transactis*, pulsus est et Uini ab eodem rege de episcopatu CM 234.22.

Gelomp *noht micelre tide æfter his slege*, þætte sum man rad be þære stowe Bede 178.18.

Non multo post interfectionem eius exacto tempore, contigit ut quidam equo sedens iter iuxta locum ageret illum CM 242.19.

oðer wæs abbud in þæm mynstre þe hatte Peortanea, from þæm mynstre *unfeor* wæs þære abbudessan mynster Bede 184.10.

secundus erat abbas in monasterio quod uocatur Peartaneu, a quo *non longe* et illa monasterium habebat CM 246.35.

Ge eac se seolfa biscop Aidan *nales ma þonne þy twelftan dæge æfter þæs cyninges slege*, þone þe he lufode, þæt is þy ærran dæge Kalendas Septembris, of þisse worulde alæded wæs Bede 198.14.

Sed et ipse antistes Aidan *non plus quam xii post occisionem regis*, quem amabat, *die*, id est pridie kalendas Septembris, de saeculo ablati... CM 260.1.

þa wæs he in þæm cynelecan tune *noht (nowiht B) feorr* from þære byrig, þe we ær foresprecende wæron Bede 202.23.

erat in uilla regia *non longe* ab urbe, de qua praefati sumus CM 262.24.

Æfter him fylgde in þone biscophad Fiinan, se wæs eac from Hii Scotta mynstre 7 ealonde sended, 7 *longe tiid* biscop wæs Bede 204. 10.

Successit uero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac *tempore non pauco* in episcopatu permansit CM 264.12.

þa gelomp *æfter unmongum gearum* þætte Penda Mercna cyning cwom mid Mercna here in þa stowe Bede 204.13.

Contigit autem *post aliquot annos*, ut Penda Merciorum rex, cum hostili exercitu haec in loca perueniens CM 264.13.

Ða wæs in Niridano þæm mynstre, þæt is *unfeor* þære byrig Neapoli in Campanie þære mægðe, Adrianus abbud Bede 254.1.

Erat autem in monasterio Hiridano, quod est *non longe* a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus, CM 328. 19.

Getimbrede he eac sundorwic *noht feor* from þære cirican Bede 262.13.

Fecerat uero sibi mansionem *non longe* ab ecclesia remotiorem CM 338.1.

Forðon, *nales monegum dagum betweoh gesettum*, Gode seo leofe modor þære gesomnunge of hefignesse lichoman alæded wæs Bede 288.22.

nam *non multis interpositis diebus*, Dei dilecta mater congregationis ipsius ergastulo carnis educta est CM 360.23.

Wæs Æpelwalh þære þeode cyning *noht micelre tide ær* in Mercum gefulwad þurh Wulfheres lare 7 geornfulnisse Mercna cyninges Bede 302.2.

Erat autem rex gentis ipsius Aedilualch *non multo ante* baptizatus in prouincia Merciorum CM 372.7.

Ða þæt þa gehyrde sum abbud 7 mæssepreost, þæs noma wæs Cyneberht, se hæfde þonon *noht feor* sum mynster in þære stowe, þe is gecegd Hreodford Bede 308.15.

Quod cum audisset abbas quidam et presbyter uocabulo Cyniberct, habens *non longe* ab inde monasterium in loco qui uocatur Hreutford CM 382.21.

Ond þa, gelice swa swa heo bebead, *nales in oðre stowe* butan in middum hire hiwum æfter endebyrðnesse, þe heo geleorde, in treowenre þryh wæs bebyrged Bede 318.30.

et atque, ut ipsa iusserat, *non alibi* quam in medio eorum iuxta ordinem quo transierat ligneo in locello sepulta CM 392.33.

þa cwomon heo to sumre ceastre gehrorenre *noht feor* þonon Bede 320.7.

Qui ascensa nauī ...uenerunt ad ciuitatulam, quan/dam desolatam *non procul* inde sitam, quae lingua Anglorum Grantacaestir uocatur CM 394.6.

þæt mynster wæs geworden 7 getimbred *noht micle ær* from Hegiu þære æfestan Cristes þeowe Bede 332.23.

quod uidelicet monasterium factum erat *non multo ante* a religiosa Christi famula Heiu CM 406.27.

Ac heo *nales æfter micelre tide*, þæs þe þæt mynster getimbred wæs, gewat to þære ceastre, þe in Englisc is gehaten Kwelcaceaster Bede 332.27.

Sed illa *post non multum tempus* facti monasterii secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur CM 406.30.

Ic wæs *ungeara* on neaht abisgad on weacenum 7 on sealmsonge 7 on gebedum Bede 354.1.

Nuper occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis CM 424.18.

þæt swa swa he in ane tid 7 in ða ilcan mid hine of lichoman gongende wæs, þæt he ðonne ec swylce swa mid hine *nalas in ungelicum selde* þære ecan eadignesse gearnode onfongen beon Bede 372.32

sicut uno eodemque tempore cum eo de corpore egredi, ita etiam una atque *indissimili sede* perpetuae beatudinis meruisset recipi CM 442.3.

þæt he *nalas after miclum fæce* he eac swylce to Dryhtne ferde Bede 378.1.

non multo post ... etiam ipse migravit ad Dominum CM 444.22.

Sindon sumu deagol wiic mid walle 7 mid barwe ymbsealde, *noht [nowiht B] feorr from* ðære ciricean Heagostealdes eae Bede 388.3.

Est mansio quaedam secretior, nemore raro et uallo circumdata, *non longe ab* Hagustaldensi ecclesia CM 456.20.

Ða wæs in sumum tune *noht feorr* sum ging ðearfa, se wæs ge dumb ge hreof Bede 388.14.

Erat autem in uilla *non longe* posita quidam adulescens mutus CM 456.29.

Wæs sumes gesiðes tun, se wæs Puh haten, *noht feor* ussum mynstre, þæt is, hugu on twegra mila fæce Bede 394.13.

Villa erat comitis cuiusdam, qui uocabatur Puch, *non longe* a monasterio nostro, id est duum ferme milium spatio separata CM 462.9.

Ah ða *after noht longre tiide* sio ilce þiod wes oferwunnen from Ealdseaxum Bede 420.18.

Sed expugnatis *non longo post tempore* Boructuaris a gente Antiquorum Saxorum CM 486.1.

ond *after fæce* monige oðre biscopas þer gesette 7 gehalgade of þara broðra riime, Bede 422.12.

Nam *non multo post* alios quoque illis in regionibus ipse constituit antistites ex eorum numero fratrum CM 486.24.

7 he þa *after unmanegum gearum* of þyssum leohte alæded wæs. 7 se bysceophad þær syððan fela gear blon Bede 448.18.

Ipsa autem *ante aliquot annos* ex hac luce subtracto, episcopatus usque hodie cessauit CM 516.2.

þone he eft *nalas after miclum fæce* sende on Gallia rice mid gepohte 7 gepafunge Oswioes his fæder Bede 456.30.

Quem *non multo post*, ..., Galliam mittens, cum consilio atque consensu patris sui Osuii episcopum sibi rogauit ordinari CM 522.9.

Gregory's *Dialogues*, GD(C)

þa <i>æfter naht manegum dagum</i> ferde se Godes man hwene fyr fram þam mynstre to trymmanne eac opre geleaffulle men to Godes þam upplican wyllan GD(C) 28.16.	cum <i>non post multos dies</i> isdem Dei famulus pro exortandis ad desideria superna fidelibus paulo longius a cella digressus est UM 29.13.
7 witað ge hwæpre, þæt he dead byð <i>unfyrn</i> [þæt he is dead H] GD(C) 62.27.	scitote tamen quia mortuus est UM 53.24.
ac þa hire afyrrde 7 bereafode an fox, se com geneahhe <i>naht feorran</i> GD(C) 69.28.	sed eas <i>ex vicinitate</i> vulpis veniens auferebat UM 57.18.
7 he wæs nu <i>unfyrn</i> on þissere ylcan byrig forðfered GD(C) 71.18.	huius viri familiarissimus fuit Iulianus nostrae aecclesiae defensor, qui <i>ante non longum tempus</i> in hac orbe defunctus est UM 58.16.
witodlice se Romanus lifde 7 eardode <i>naht feor þanon</i> on anum mynstre under ðeodates regole þæs fæder GD(C) 98.25.	qui videlicet Romanus <i>non longe</i> in monasterio sub Deodati patris regula degebat UM 76.11.
þa <i>naht feorr</i> þam wæs sum mynster GD(C) 103.22.	<i>non longe</i> autem monasterium fuit UM 80.7.
soplice hit gelamp in Gotena tidum. þa þa Totilla cyning gehyrde, þæt se halga wer hæfde witedomes gast, he ferde to his mynstre 7 þa gewidoce þær <i>naht feor</i> [unfeor H] 7 þam halgan mæn hine towardne bodode GD(C) 130.21.	Gothorum namque temporibus, cum rex eorum Totila sanctum virum prophetiae habere spriritum audissit, ad eius monasterium pergens, <i>paulo longius</i> substetit, eique se venturum esse nuntiavit UM 101.3.
þa <i>æfter lytlum fæce</i> he gesohte to Romesbyrig GD(C) 133.7.	cum <i>non multo post</i> Romam adiit UM 102.13.
Eac þær wæs fram þam mynstre <i>unfeor</i> sum tun, GD(C) 142.19.	<i>Non longe</i> autem a monasterio vicus erat, UM 109.3.
soðlice <i>naht feor</i> fram his mynstre wæron sume twa nunnan of æpelum cynne geborene 7 drohtnodon on heora agenre stowe GD(C) 151.14.	<i>nam</i> [v.l. <i>non</i>] <i>longe</i> ab eius monasterio duae quaedam sanctaemonialis feminae, nobiliori genere exhortae, in loco proprio conversabantur UM 114.9.
7 þa to ðære se Godes wer ferde <i>naht feorr</i> butan þam gæte þæs mynstres GD(C) 167.5.	ad quam vir Dei <i>non longe</i> extra ianuam in possessione monasterii discendebat UM 125.20.
7 <i>naht late</i> þæs seo yþgung þæs regnes wæs cumen æfter hire gebede GD(C) 168.2.	<i>nec paulo tardius</i> , post orationem, inundatio illa secuta est UM 126.20.
<i>Naht mycelre tide æfter</i> þon abædendre nyde Gotena þeode se æresta wer Agapitus þyssere halgan Rome cyrcan papa, þam ic genihtiendum Gode nu þeowige. ferde þa to Iustiniane GD(C) 183.22.	<i>Post non multum</i> viro temporis, exigente causa Gothorum, vir quoque beatissimus Agapitus, huius sanctae Romanae aecclesiae pontifex, cui Deo dispensante deservio, ad Iustinianum principem accessit UM 141.19.

ac ut gangende of þære byrig <i>naht feor þanon</i> funde him ane weste stowe GD(C) 203.1.	sed servus omnipotentis Dei horum nihil accipiens, egressus orbem <i>non longe</i> desertum locum repperit UM 165.15.
Witodlice þær wæs mynster <i>unfeorr</i> fram heora huse GD(C) 205.22.	<i>non longe</i> autem erat monasterium UM 170.4.
þæt næs [wæs O] <i>naht feor</i> fram þære cyrican GD(C) 215.16.	quod <i>non longe</i> ab aecclesia aberat UM 180.17.
Pa gesawon hi <i>unfeor þanon</i> ænne ofen inæledne GD(C) 219.11.	<i>non longe</i> aspexerunt succenso clibanum UM 184.11.
þæt hit næs <i>naht feor</i> his ænde GD(C) 225.23.	quia <i>non longe</i> abessit eius exitus UM 192.8.
7 þa <i>æfter noht manegum dagum</i> se ealda fæder wæs mid fereradle geswænced & hit nealæhte his ænde GD(C) 225.29	cum <i>non post multos dies</i> senex pater, febre praeventus, ad extrema pervenit UM 192.13.
þu wast, fæder, þæt ic sylfa <i>unfyrn</i> sceall beon sweltende GD(C) 226.3.	scis quia ego <i>modo</i> secuturus sum UM 192.16.
þær wæs eac oðer cyricweard <i>na ealles full geara</i> , þæs þe ure ylðran witan sædon, se wæs haten Habundius, se wæs mycelre eadmodnesse 7 gestæððignesse wer 7 getreowlice þeowiende þam ælmihtigan Gode GD(C) 228.4.	Alius illic <i>non ante longa tempora</i> , sicut nostri seniores ferunt, custos aecclesiae Acontius dictus est magnae humilitatis atque gravitatis vir, ita omnipotenti Deo fideliter serviens UM 194.17.
se forðferde in þissere ilcan byrig <i>naht lang ær þysum</i> GD(C) 275.22.	qui <i>non longe ante hoc</i> in hac orbe defunctus est UM 243.4.
Soðlice hit gelamp nu <i>unfyrn</i> GD(C) 289.2.	[The OE corresponds to Latin sentence-initial <i>nam</i> UM 257.5]
þeos hæfde geongne sunu, se wæs næmned Eumorfius. Þanon eardode sum man <i>unfeor</i> , se wæs haten Stephanus GD(C) 313.29.	haec Eumorfium nomine iuvenem filium habebat, a quo <i>non longe</i> quidam Stephanus, ..., habitabat UM 282.23.
7 Stephanus se irensmið wæs forðfered on þa ylcan tid se eardode <i>naht feor</i> þæs oðres huses GD(C) 318.13.	et Stephanus ferrarius, qui <i>iuxta</i> eum habitabat, eadem hora defunctus est UM 286.23.
7 me þa sona wæs æt <i>naht feorr æfter þon</i> sum færende scip (GD(C) 347.33.	<i>nec longe post</i> navis transiens adfuit, quae me ab illo undarum periculo suscipit UM 322.8.

GD(H)

ða <i>æfter feawum dagum</i> ferde se Godes þeow hwon feorr fram þam mynstre to lærenne geleaffulle men to þam upplicum gewilnungum GD(H) 28.16.	cum <i>non post multos dies</i> isdem Dei famulus pro exortandis ad desideria superna fidelibus paulo longius a cella digressus est UM 29.13.
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ðyses weres hiwcuðesta wæs Iulianus ure ciricean mundbora, se nu <i>for lyttlum fyrste</i> on þysre byrig wearð forðfered GD(H) 71.12.	huius viri familiarissimus fuit Iulianus nostrae aecclesiae defensor, qui <i>ante non longum tempus</i> in hac orbe defunctus est UM 58.16.
ða wæs þær <i>unfeorr</i> sum mynster GD(H) 103.22.	<i>non longe</i> autem monasterium fuit UM 80.7.
soðlice on Gotena tidum, þa þa hyra cyning Totilla gehyrde, þæt se halga wer hæfde witegunge gast, þa ferde he to his mynstre 7 þær <i>unfeorr</i> gewicode 7 het cyðan þam halgan were hine towardne GD(H) 130.17.	Gothorum namque temporibus, cum rex eorum Totila sanctum virum prophetiae habere spriritum audissit, ad eius monasterium pergens, <i>paulo longius</i> substetit, eique se venturum esse nuntiavit UM 101.5.
þa æfter <i>unmycelum fæce</i> he becom to Rome GD(H) 133.7.	cum <i>non multo post</i> Romam adiit UM 102.13.
Soðlice <i>unfeorr</i> fram þam mynstre wæs sum tun GD(H) 142.19.	<i>Non longe</i> autem a monasterio vicus erat UM 109.3.
witodlice <i>unfeorr</i> fram his mynstre wæron sume twa nunnan of æðelum cynne geborene 7 drohtnodon on hyra agenre stowe GD (H) 151.13.	<i>nam</i> [sic!] <i>longe</i> ab eius monasterio duae quaedam sanctaemonialis feminae, nobiliore genere exhortae, in loco proprio conversabantur UM 114.9.

7. Article II – Negators in Contrastive Constructions in Old English



Negators in Contrastive Constructions in Old English

Ilkka Mönkkönen

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to find out the factors that explain the variation among the different negators in contrastive constructions, *X (and) not Y* and *not X but Y*, in Old English prose and glosses. An attempt is also made to answer the question why such structures are used, and why they are more common in some texts than in others. The data consists of a select corpus. The results indicate that in early West Saxon the negators in such constructions are mainly *nalles* and *næs*, while the negator *na* occurs less frequently. The exclusive use of the negator *na* by Ælfric simplifies the system of negators in late West Saxon. Contrastive constructions are mainly employed as rhetorical means for emphasis. They are favoured in texts that are intended to influence people. The results suggest that the variation is partly idiolectal and genre-based, and partly diachronic.

KEYWORDS

Negation; Old English; contrastive construction; variation; rhetorical

1. Introduction

In Old English (OE), there are several negators, such as *ne*, *na*, *næs* and *nalles*, that can be translated by ‘not’. Various grammatical rules on their use indicate that they are not interchangeable in a clause. For example, the particle *ne* ‘not’ is with high consistency placed immediately before a finite verb form in which position it negates the whole clause. Supporting his conclusion with numerous examples Mitchell (1985: §§1616, 1622) states that the adverb *nalles* ‘not’, ‘not at all’ is used in poetry to negate one of two alternative words (other than verbs) or phrases, whereas in prose, especially in Ælfric, the negator in such instances is usually the adverb *na* ‘not’, as in *na lichamlice ac gastlice* ‘not bodily, but spiritually’ (ÆCHom II 154.156),¹ or sometimes *nalles*, as in *nalæs mid anes mannes geþeahhte ac mid gesægene unrim geleaffulra witenra* ‘not on the authority of a single person, but from the statements of numberless faithful witnesses’ (Bede 4.25; translation Miller). Constructions of this kind in which the two halves of the coordinated pair are symmetrical seem to be common in various languages.² In this article, such instances are referred to as *negative contrastive constructions*.

Since recent research into negation in OE prose has mainly focussed on the adverb *ne* and sentential negation (for example, van Kemenade 1999; Ohkado 2005; Ogura 2008; van Bergen 2008a and 2008b), contrastive constructions in which negation is subclausal have not been studied in detail. LaBrum (1982) analyses ‘contrastives’ in her dissertation, but her

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¹The short titles of the OE texts follow those in Healey & Venezky 1980. In the text, citations are given in the spelling of the editions used, but no diacritical marks are included. Punctuation follows that of the editors.

²Closest to Old English are Old High German (OHG), Late OHG and Early Middle High German, (see LaBrum 1982: 214, 242–247). Comparisons of such constructions in modern languages are included in von Klopp 1994. LaBrum (1982: 180–190) refers to the continuity of negative contrastive constructions from OE to Modern English.

OE data is meagre. Mitchell provides copious examples of the negators *na* and *nalles* negating one of two alternatives, both in prose and poetry, but he does not include quantitative data on the distribution of these negators in his study. Nor do these studies answer the question why contrastive constructions are favoured in some texts.

The purpose of this article is to expand the study of OE negation to subclausal units and uncover the factors that explain the variation among different negators in contrastive constructions in OE prose and glosses. This variation includes syntactic structures in such constructions. I also test Mitchell's generalization on the use of *na* and *nalles* in contrastive constructions with quantitative data, and make an attempt to answer the question why such structures are used in prose and why they are more common in some texts than in others. The negators included are the following: *na*, 'not', *næs*, and *nalles* 'not', 'not at all'.

This article is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the corpus used. Section 3 introduces the negators *na*, *nalles* and *næs*. Section 4 provides an overview of the contrastive constructions in OE prose. Section 5 discusses the distribution of the negators, including their relative frequency and their diachronic, dialectal and idiolectal breakdown. Section 6 deals with such constructions as rhetorical means; two special devices, antitabole and anaphora, are introduced. Section 7 discusses the distribution of the types of negative contrastive constructions across grammatical categories. Attention is also paid to the occurrence of ellipsis. Section 8 provides a concise summary of the findings.

2. Corpus

The article is a descriptive and quantitative analysis of the data based on a select corpus of 19 texts. These are continuous texts, both prose and glosses (see Table 1).³ No poetry is included. The texts were selected as representative of the various text types, dialects and periods of OE (Table 1). The data were collected manually from the editions indicated in the references. The citations follow the spellings of *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC). *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC) has been consulted as to period, prototypical text category and text type (see Kytö 1996). The size of my corpus, 641,323 OE words, covers about one fifth of DOEC.⁴

Approximately one third of the texts are early West Saxon and two thirds late West Saxon. The scarcity of non-West Saxon (Anglian and Kentish) data is well-known. In the present study, the Anglian material comprises the glosses of the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Vespasian Psalter* and a selection of documents, both early and late, in the *Charters* (Ch). The early West Saxon (eWS) period is represented by the *Old English Orosius*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* MS A, *Gregory's Pastoral Care* MS H and King Alfred's *Preface to Gregory's Pastoral Care*.

The late WS period is represented by the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Homilies of Wulfstan*, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II*, *De Temporibus Anni*, *Preface to Genesis* and his treatise *On the Old and New Testament* (Ælet4 (SigewardZ)). *The Life of St. Chad* and *Gregory's Dialogues* MS C represent late West Saxon with Mercian elements (CoRD 2017). Bede's *Ecclesiastical*

³From *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A), only pre-950 entries are included.

⁴The corpus is somewhat larger than the OE part of HC (413,250 OE words) which is a compilation of samples of prose, glosses and poetry (see Kytö 1996).

Table 1. The corpus.

Text and text type	Dialect	Word counts
Document		
<i>Charters</i> (Robertson)	Anglian/Kentish/early & late WS	25.638
History		
<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> (A)*	Early WS	14.551
<i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History</i>	Early WS with Anglian elements	80.521
<i>The Old English Orosius</i>	Early WS	51.110
Religious treatise		
<i>Cura Pastoralis</i>	Early WS	67.835
Preface		
<i>Preface to Cura Pastoralis</i>	Early WS	874
<i>Preface to Genesis</i>	Late WS	1.383
<i>On the Old and New Testament</i> **	Late WS	10.182
Bible		
<i>The Vespasian Psalter</i>	Early Anglian	32.347
<i>The West Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	Late WS	20.436
<i>The Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	Late Anglian	21.327
<i>The Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew</i>	Late Anglian	19.628
Homily		
<i>Blickling Homilies</i>	Late WS with Anglian elements	44.918
<i>Homilies of Wulfstan</i>	Late WS	28.194
<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II</i>	Late WS	97.702
Biography: life of saint		
<i>Gregory's Dialogues</i> (C)	Late WS with Mercian elements	91.488
<i>Gregory's Dialogues</i> (H)	Late WS/unknown***	25.229
<i>The Life of St. Chad</i>	Late WS with Mercian elements	2.649
Science: astronomy		
<i>De Temporibus Anni</i>	Late WS	5.311
	Sum total	641.323

*only pre-950 entries included

** ÆLet4 (SigewardZ)

*** LWS (YCOE); the reviser's dialect of OE (Yerkes 1982:10)

History, and *The Blickling Homilies* also contain numerous Anglian elements (Campbell 1959: §17; Schabram 1965: 73ff.; CoRD 2017). In order to widen the non-West Saxon portion of the corpus, I have included three Anglian glosses, even though syntactically they are hardly compatible with the other texts.

It is well known that a single text is often compiled of several manuscripts which may date back to different periods of OE. This implies that conclusions pertaining to the date and dialect of a text become difficult to draw. MS C and MS H of *Gregory's Dialogues* offer a good example of such difficulties. Nevertheless, by analysing various instances of contrastive constructions in a text we may learn how the negators were used in such constructions.

MS H of *Gregory's Dialogues* covers part of MS C. Wærferth translated Pope Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* sometime between the early 870s and early 890s, whereas the revision of the translation, MS H, took place between 950 and 1050, probably in Worcester, by an anonymous scribe. The two versions represent different dialects. MS C follows Wærferth's original translation, whereas there seems to be no consensus on the reviser's dialect. MS H is categorized as WS/X, i.e. West Saxon with the element X referring to 'unknown' in HC (CoRD 2017). Yerkes refers to the reviser's own idiom and 'to his dialect of Old English' (Yerkes 1982: 10), but MS H has also been regarded as West Saxon (YCOE). According to Yerkes, many of the changes the reviser made bring the wording of his translation closer to the Latin of Gregory (Yerkes 1982: 9–10).

Since comparisons between MS C and MS H must be based on the existing texts, we should take a look at the dates of the existing manuscripts. MS C (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 322) is a copy from the eleventh century of Wærferth's OE translation, which dates back to King Alfred's time (MS C: Ker s. xi²), while MS H (Bodleian, Hatton 76, fols. 1–54) is an eleventh-century copy of a revised version of the original (MS H: Ker s. xi¹; Yerkes 1982: 9–11). Thus, both manuscripts date from approximately the same period. There is also MS O (Cotton Otho C.i, vol.2, fols. 1–137); however, this was badly damaged in the fire in the Cottonian Library in 1731. It is claimed to represent Wærferth's text even better than MS C, with regard to both vocabulary and grammatical forms (Harting 1937: 282, 292). MS O also comes from the same period as the two manuscripts (MS O: Ker s. xi¹ in, xi¹ med). Yerkes states that the first two books of the translation of MS O were copied by a scribe at the beginning of the eleventh century, perhaps in the South-West, whereas 'another scribe copied the last two books at Worcester about forty years later, in the middle of the century' (Yerkes 1979: xvi).

My discussion on the differences of the negative contrastive constructions in MS C and MS H is based on Hecht's edition of Gregory's *Dialogues*, in which he gives the readings of both manuscripts. Hecht also gives the variants of MS O at the bottom of the page in his edition when they are available.

3. The three negators

The element *n-*, common to OE negators, goes back to the particle *ne*, from the older *ni*, 'not' (IE **ne*, related to IE **me*, Gothic *ni*, Old Saxon, Old High German, Old Frisian *ne*, *ni*, Holthausen 1934: s.v. *ne*). After elision of the vowel, the particle *ne* becomes a kind of negative prefix *n-*, attached to some adverbs, pronouns, conjunctions and verbs, provided they begin with a vowel or *h-* or *w-* followed by a vowel (Campbell 1959: §265, and §469; Hogg 1992: 187–188).

With the negator *na*, occasionally also spelt *no*, amalgamation of the prefix *n-* with *a* or *o*, 'ever', gives *na* and *no*, 'never', which, after the loss of its temporal meaning by the OE period (Einenkel 1916: 79), becomes the adverb 'not' or 'no' (cf. OS, OHG *neo*, *nio*, OF *na*, *no*, Holthausen 1934: s.v. *na*; Wright & Wright 1961: 69). *Nalles/nales* may represent two roots: (i) *nealles* < *ne* + *ealles*, 'not', 'not at all', Latin *nequaquam*, *neque omnino*, and (ii) *nalæs*, *-as*, *-es* < *na* + *læs* 'less' (Holthausen 1934: s.v. *nealles*, *nales*). In this article, the form *nalles* is used to represent the spellings *nalas*, *nalæs*, *nales*, *nallas*, *nallæs*, *nalles* and *nals*. The negator *næs* 'not', which is a homonym of the contracted verb form *næs* < *ne* + *wæs* 'was not', has been considered either a combination of *ne* + *gese/gise*, literally 'not yes' (GK: s.v. *næs*), or a grammaticalization of the contracted verb form *næs*, but it has also been regarded as a shortened form of the adverb *nalles* (Grimm 1890: 698).

4. Contrastive constructions

There are four types of negative contrastive constructions in OE prose depending on the position of the negator and the conjoining conjunction.

Type (i): *X not Y*

Type (ii): *X and not Y*

Type (iii): *X but not Y*

Type (iv): *not X but Y*

The types are exemplified by the following instances in which the negator *na* introduces a constituent contrasted with a parallel positive one. Type (iii) is rare in OE and is represented below by example (3) which comes from outside my corpus.

- (1) forþan þe Columban was **abbod na biscop**. (ChronA (Bately) 565.13)
'because Columba was an abbot, not a bishop'.
- (2) Se ðe reaflac lufað. he bið **glida and na culfre**. (ÆCHom II 24.184)
'He who loves rapine is a kite, and not a dove'.
- (3) **mid mannum** hit is uneaþelic **ac na mid Gode**. (Mk (WSCp) 10.27)
Apud homines impossibile est, sed non apud Deum
'With men it is impossible, but not with God'.⁵
- (4) Soðlice hit is swa swa we ær cwædon cristes lichama and his blod. **na lichamlice. ac gastlice**. (ÆCHom II 154.156)
'Truly it is, as we before said, Christ's body and his blood, not bodily but spiritually'.

The instances quoted above are examples of antithesis in which two opposing ideas, one of which is negated, are coordinated in order to achieve a contrasting effect. The examples indicate that the position of the contrastive negation differs. In examples (1) and (2) the negator introduces a sentence element which gives prominence to the assertion preceding it. In example (3), which closely follows the Latin word order, and in (4), in which the hypothetical alternative of the antithesis, *na lichamlice*, is placed first, the focus is at the end of the clause. The examples also show that the structures vary. Occasionally, contrasted elements are coordinated by means of *ac* 'but' (3 and 4), or *and* 'and' (2), while in example (1) the coordination is asyndetic. The elements which indicate the foci of the contrastive negation are various clause constituents, such as adverbs (*na lichamlice ac gastlice*), prepositional phrases (*mid mannum ac na mid Gode*), or noun phrases (*glida and na culfre*, and *abbod na biscop*). Negation is subclausal in each example above, in other words, the scope of negation, the stretch of language over which the negator *na* has semantic influence (Quirk et al. 1985: 10.64; Huddleston and Pullum 2010: 811), is confined to the phrases *na lichamlice*, *na mid Gode*, *na culfre* and *na biscop*.

I limit my discussion to instances in which the negators *na*, *nalles* and *næs* are used to negate one of two alternative words (other than finite forms of verbs) or phrases. Constructions in which a negator is used with contrasted propositions, as in example (5), are not included.

- (5) **nales na for þæm þe** hio mid forheriunge swa gebismrad wære swa Babylonia wæs; **ac** heo for hie cristendome nu giet is gescild (Or 2 44.12)
'not because it has been humbled by assault as Babylon was, but it is still protected by its Cristian faith'. (translation Godden 2016)

The constructions examined in this article represent four types. In types (i–iii) the two halves are coordinated either asyndetically or syndetically by the conjunction *and* or *ac*. In type (iv) in which the negative element of the antithesis comes first, the

⁵The PDE translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. The Latin text of the West Saxon Gospel passages is from the Vulgate version by Fischer, Weber et al. (Vulgate 1969). For the *Psalter*, the Latin text cited is from the DOEC. The translations of the passages from Ælfric's *Homilies* are from Thorpe 1844–1846.

coordination is syndetic. In this function, the conjunction *ac* may be translated by ‘but rather’, ‘but instead’, or ‘on the contrary’, rather than simply by ‘but’ (DOE s.v. *ac*).

The notion of contrast will be taken as a general term referring to a ‘state of being strikingly different from something else in juxtaposition or close association’ (OD, s.v. *contrast*). Thus it covers the categories of opposition (true/false), antonymy (high/low) and complementaries (male/female) (Lyons 1993: 279; see also Mettinger 1994: *passim*). Contrast which refers to relations between items in a clause is closely related to the notion of focus, namely the point which receives some prominence in the clause (Molnár 2002: 148; Repp 2010: 1335).

The choice of the negator can stem from two types of factors. On the one hand, it may be caused by structural (internal) factors, such as the immediate syntactic environment in which the negator occurs. On the other hand, the factors can be extra-structural (external) or contextual-situational, in which case variation may be genre-based, diachronic and diatopic (Rydén 1977: 12–13).

5. Distribution of the negators

The distribution of the negators in contrastive constructions in my corpus is shown in Table 2. There are 135 occurrences altogether. The frequencies are mainly in agreement with Mitchell’s conclusions, when he states that in clauses in which ‘one of two alternative words (other than finite verbs) or phrases is negated, *na/no* is usual in the prose . . . , but *nalles* sometimes serves’ (Mitchell 1985: §1622). Since *nalles* is relatively common in my corpus, his generalization with regard to the use of the negators *na* and *nalles* in prose calls for some commentary.

Altogether, there are 69 instances of the negator *na*. But the frequency of *nalles* is also high (39 instances), which is mainly due its numerous occurrences in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*. It becomes considerably higher if Mitchell’s categorization of negators is followed; according to him *næs* and the different spellings of *nalles* can be taken together for syntactic reasons (Mitchell 1985: §1620). Taken together, the

Table 2. Negators in contrastive constructions; absolute numbers.

Text*	na**	nalles***	næs	nalles na***	næs na	Total
CP	0	9	10	2	1	22
Or	0	2	0	0	1	3
Bede	0	19	0	0	0	19
GD(C)	1	5	0	4	0	10
VP(Kuhn)	0	3	0	0	0	3
Chron(A)	2	0	0	0	0	2
Ch(Rob)	1	0	0	0	1	2
WHom	0	0	0	0	1	1
GD(H)	5	0	0	0	0	5
Mt(Ru)	1	1	0	0	0	2
Mt(WSCp)	1	0	1	0	0	2
BlHom	0	0	2	0	4	6
ÆCHom	54	0	0	0	0	54
ÆGenPref	1	0	0	0	0	1
ÆHeptPref	3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	69	39	13	6	8	135

* Only those texts are listed here where instances occur

**both *na* and *no*

****nalles* refers to the spellings *nalas*, *nalæs*, *nales*, *nallas*, *nallæs*, *nalles*, *nals*

occurrences of the two negators would narrow the difference between *na* (69 instances) and *nalles/næs* (52 instances) even more, if the constructions *nalles na* and *næs na* (14 instances) were included in the count. To conclude, there is no significant difference between the frequencies of *na* and *nalles/næs* in contrastive constructions in my corpus.

However, there is variation among the negators in terms of their occurrences in the texts studied. More than 90% of all the instances of *na* in contrastive constructions come from late West Saxon, predominantly from Ælfric, whereas the bulk of the occurrence of *nalles/næs* come from early West Saxon texts. There are also instances of both *na* and *nalles/næs* in Anglian texts, but the frequencies are low.

The quantities shown in Table 2 can be compared by using ratios.⁶ The frequency of contrastive constructions per 1,000 words is roughly the same in both late West Saxon (0.25) and early West Saxon texts (0.22). In the Anglian material the ratio is considerably lower (less than 0.01). On the one hand, the frequency of the negator *na* per 1,000 words is significantly higher in late West Saxon (0.20) than in early West Saxon texts (0.01). On the other hand, the frequency of *nalles/næs* is significantly higher in early West Saxon (0.21) than in late West Saxon texts (0.05). The frequencies suggest that the variation among the negators in contrastive constructions in my corpus may be explained, at least partly, by the date of the text.

Part of the high percentage of *na* in late West Saxon texts is also due to the large size of the sample drawn from Ælfric, who seems to resort to *na* regularly in contrastive constructions. Table 2 indicates that the translator of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* prefers *nalles* exclusively.

The two versions of Gregory's *Dialogues* call for a closer examination. There are five instances of contrastive constructions that are shared by the manuscripts. In MS H, *na* is used exclusively (exx. (6b), (7b), and GD(H) 28.28, 33.4, and 125.9)⁷, whereas in MS C, the negator is either *nalles* (ex. (6a) and GD(C) 33.3) or the construction *nalles na* (ex. (7a), and GD(C) 28.28, and 125.10). The negator *na* only occurs once in a contrastive construction in MS C.

The constructions also differ. The coordination is asyndetic in MS C, which is in line with the structure of the source text, *diabulus ... non monachus* (6a), while in MS H (6b) it is syndetic.

(6a) ne sæde ic hit ær, þæt he wære **deofol nalles munuc?** (GD(C) 29.16)
numquid non dixi, quod diabulus essit iste, non monachus? (Moricca)

(6b) hu, ne sæde ic hit ær, þæt he wære **deofol & na munuc?** (GD(H) 29.12)
'Didn't I say before, that he was a devil (and) not a monk'.

The structure of the translation of MS C agrees with that of the source text in example (7a) in that the negation comes in the first half of the coordinated pair. The reviser altered the construction by placing the negation in the second half in MS H.

(7a) Witodlice se halga wer Benedictus ongan þis wundor tellan **nalles na his agnum geearnungum, ac Maures hyrsumnysse þæs munuces.** (GD(C) 115.32)
vir autem venerabilis Benedictus hoc non suis meritis sed obaedientiae illius deputare coepit. (Moricca)

⁶For the word counts, see Table 1.

⁷Cf. also numbers 359, 426, 1744, 1961, and 2206 in Yerkes (1979).

- (7b) Se arwurða wer Benedictus þa ongann tellan þis wundor **to Maures hyrsumnysse, na to his agenum geearnungum**. (GD(H) 115.29)
 ‘The venerable man Benedict then began to attribute this wonder to the obedience of Maurus, not to his own merits’.

Hecht also includes the variants of MS O, if they are available, at the bottom of the page in his edition of *Gregory's Dialogues*, which makes it possible to compare MS C with MS O on the lexeme level. Comparing these variants, it appears that there are passages in which the two manuscripts share the negator *nalles* and the construction *nalles na*.⁸

Relying on the dating of the OE texts represented in Table 1, some conclusions may be drawn from the examples presented above. The discussion indicates that the variation between the negators *na* and *nalles/næs (na)* in contrastive constructions depends on several factors. In my corpus, the negator *nalles/næs* or the double negative construction *nalles/næs na* mainly occurs in those texts, both West Saxon and Anglian, that go back to King Alfred's time, whereas the bulk of the occurrences of *na* date back to late West Saxon period. However, the differences between the early and late texts are not absolute. There are early West Saxon examples of *na* negating one of two alternatives, and there are also instances of the negator *nalles/næs (na)* in the same function in late West Saxon texts.

It can be concluded that the variation between *na* and *nalles/næs* may, at least partly, be explained by the date of the text. However, one has to keep in mind the fact that a single text is often compiled of several manuscripts and by various scribes. The text may also reflect the scribe's personal preferences in the use of negators.

Pooled together, variation among the negators *na* and *nalles/næs (na)* is, at least partly, diachronic. The exclusive use of *na* by Ælfric indicates that it is also idiolectal. No conclusions related to diatopic variation can be made, due to the scarcity of Anglian examples.

6. Contrasted constructions as rhetorical means

Negative contrastive constructions, especially those of the type *not X but Y*, are typically employed as rhetorical means to give prominence to the words and phrases that the author considers important. Instead of stating simply that the holy Judas wrote a letter, Ælfric chooses a detour and reminds his audience of two apostles, i.e. the lost Judas and the holy Judas, and of their relationship to the Saviour in example (8). By placing the hypothetical alternative in the first half of the construction he emphasizes the correct alternative, which comes in the second half introduced by the adversative particle *ac*, ‘but instead’, or ‘on the contrary’. Repetition of words and recurring grammatical structures in the two halves of the antithesis enhance the intended contrast between the paired oppositions (cf. Fahnestock 2002: 50).

- (8) Iudas se apostol awrat anne pistol, **na se forlorene Iudas** þe ðone Hælend belæwde, **ac se halga Iudas** þe him æfre folgode. (ÆLet4 (SigewardZ) 935)
 ‘Judas the apostle wrote a letter, not the lost Judas who betrayed the Saviour, but instead the holy Judas who always followed him’.

Repetition and other rhetorical devices are favoured in texts that are intended to influence people. In my corpus the texts which represent various text types (Table 1)

⁸Cf. the following instances: (i) MS(C) 29.18 *nalles/O nales*; (ii) MS C 33.3 *nalles/O nallæs*; (iii) MS(C) 90.30 *nalæs/O nalles*; (iv) MS (C) 125.10 *nalæs na/O nalles no*.

include *Cura Pastoralis*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Gregory's *Dialogues* and Ælfric's *Homilies*. The numerous occurrences of contrastive constructions in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* indicate that it is not only a historical account of events, but also an instructive and didactic text which introduces and promotes the writer's religious views by employing rhetorical devices. A comparison of the OE translation with the source text of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* indicates that the structures of the OE translation follow the Latin source closely (e.g. Bede 76.13, 82.17, 82.30, etc.).

It appears that Ælfric, who was acquainted with Latin literature, also knew how to employ various rhetorical means in his homilies. The special devices include antimetabole and anaphora. Antimetabole refers to a figure of speech that 'reverses the relative position of a pair of key terms in parallel phrases' (Fahnestock 2002: 123). In other words, antimetabole involves repetition of words or ideas in reverse order. In example (9), the two parallel phrases are symmetrical in that the phrase of the first half, *fram deaðe to life* is repeated in a reverse form, *na fram life to deaðe*, in the second half. In such a construction the first half typically consists of an assumed but mistaken relationship which may be held by the audience addressed, while the second half reveals that this widely held belief is not correct and that the reverse is the case (Fahnestock 2002: 150).

- (9) We sind asende to gecigenne mancynn **fram deaðe to life**. **na** to scufenne **fram life to deaðe**. (ÆCHom II 283.128)

'We are sent to call mankind from death to life, not to drive [mankind] from life to death'.

Tupper (1897: 71–72) points to idiolectal variation among the homilies. He concludes that antimetaboles are frequent in Ælfric's *Homilies*, less frequent in Wulfstan's *Homilies* and completely absent from the *Blickling Homilies*.

As a rhetorical device, anaphora refers to 'repetition of a word or expression at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences, or verses especially for rhetorical or poetic effect' (M-W, s.v. *anaphora*). The recurring negators and phrases contribute to heighten the contrast in example (10).

- (10) þeos halige ðrynnys hylt us. and ealle gesceafta; **Na hwiltidum se fæder. ne hwiltidum se sunu. ne hwiltidum se halga gast. ac** swa swa hi ðry sind **an god untodædlic**. swa is eac heora hyrdræden untodædlic ofer us. and ofer eallum gesceaftum. þe ðære anre god-cundnyss hyrsumiað. (ÆCHom II 211.169)

'This Holy Trinity preserves us and all creatures: not sometimes the Father, nor sometimes the Son, nor sometimes the Holy Ghost, but as those three are one God indivisible, so also is indivisible their guardianship over us and over all creatures that obey one Godhead'.

Tupper (1897: 57–63) gives examples of the use of anaphora as a rhetorical device in various homilies and Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. He considers both anaphora and antimetabole rhetorical devices of prose.

7. Types of negative contrastive constructions

Distribution of types

Table 3 shows the distribution of contrastive negation across grammatical categories in my corpus. Approximately two-thirds of the occurrences of contrastive constructions

Table 3. Distribution of the forms of contrastive negation across grammatical categories.

Form of contrastive negation	Grammatical category					Total
	AdjP	ADVP	TO INF	NP	PP	
X not Y	4	3	2	30	29	68
X and not Y	1	1	1	15	3	21
X but not Y	0	0	0	0	0	0
not X but Y	2	11	0	8	25	46
Total	7	15	3	53	57	135

(89 instances) are of either the type *X not Y*, or *X and not Y*. Asyndetic coordination is preferred (68 instances). If there is a conjunction between the coordinated phrases it is regularly *and*. The type *X but not Y* is rare and is not represented in my corpus (see example (3) above). Approximately one-third (46 instances) of all the occurrences are of the type *not X but Y*.

The types *X not Y* and *not X but Y* are similar as to the high frequency of prepositional phrases they contain. But there are also significant differences relating to the frequencies of noun phrases and adverb phrases which imply that the two types mainly occur as different sentence constituents in a clause. For example, adverb phrases and prepositional phrases mainly occur as adverbials, whereas noun phrases are often employed as subjects, objects or subject complements in a clause. Since omission of words and phrases by ellipsis is fairly common in contrastive constructions, I start by examining elliptical structures before studying the constructions in detail.

Elliptical structures

As noted above, repetition of words or phrases is often employed as a rhetorical means in contrasted constructions. However, repetition may also be considered redundant. Occasionally ellipsis is used to emphasize which part of the coordinated pair is being contrasted. In example (11), the head noun *pleoh*, which is recoverable from the preceding context, has been omitted by ellipsis in the second half of the coordinated pair in which the genitive form *min* stands independently for the noun phrase (*na min [pleoh]*). Ellipsis in adjective phrases includes example (12) in which the adjective *ægen* has been omitted in the second half of the construction (*nalles ure [ægen]* ‘their own, not our own’). The omission of redundant elements highlights the focus of the clause in (13), in which the ellipted phrase *him to hlaforde* is recoverable from the first half of the construction.

- (11) & hit bið ðonne **his pleoh na min**. (ÆGenPref 117)
 ‘And then it will be his peril and not mine’.
- (12) **hiera ægen** we him sellað, **nalles ure**. (CP 335.17)
 ‘we give them their own, not ours’. (Translation Sweet)
- (13) for ðan hi habbað nu. **þone hetolan deofol. him to hlaforde. na ðone lifigendan crist**. (ÆCHom II 144.208)
 ‘therefore have they now the hateful devil for their Lord, not the Living Christ’.

There seem to be two reasons for omitting words or phrases in contrastive constructions in OE, as well as at later stages of English and many other languages, including Latin. On the one hand, ellipsis is employed to avoid repetition. On the other hand, the omission of redundant elements also highlights the focus of the clause.

X not Y, X and not Y

Table 3 indicates that the noun phrase is the most frequent grammatical category in constructions of the types *X not Y* and *X and not Y*. Such constructions occur most frequently as subject complements (examples (1),(2), (14) and also CP 405.15; Bede 75.13, etc.), or objects (examples (15), and ÆCHom II 251.58, ÆCHom II 272.15, Matt (WSCp) 12.7, etc.), less often as subjects (16) or as other sentence elements in my corpus.

- (14) Ge sind **þeostu. and na leoht.** (ÆCHom II, 167.217)
 ‘Ye are darkness, and not light’.
- (15) Habbon hi **ðone woruldhlian** þe hi sohton. **na ða ecan mede** þe hi ne rohton.
 (ÆCHom II 329.77)
 ‘Let them have the worldly renown that they sought, not the everlasting meed of which they recked not’.
- (16) Forþon **se willa þæs lichoman** bið in synne, **nales þæt saar þære cennisse.**
 (Bede 76.13)
 uoluptas etenim carnis, non dolor in culpa est. (CM)
 ‘For carnal pleasure is sinful, not the pains of childbirth’. (Translation Miller)

The coordination is asyndetic, if the subject complement is an adjective phrase, as in *Heo wæs ful cweden næs æmetugu* (BlHom 5.5; ‘She was called full, not empty’), and similarly in *wearm, nalles wlaco* (CP 447.2; ‘warm, not lukewarm’), *wilsumlic, nales geneðedlic* (Bede 62.21; ‘voluntary, not compulsory’), and *hwilwendlic, na ece* (ÆCHom II 154.145; ‘temporary, not eternal’).

Various adverbs (17), non-finite clauses (18) or prepositional phrases (19) function as adverbial phrases. In example (17), the inflected infinitives preceded by the element *to*, i.e. *to habbenne*, *to brucenne* and *to sellanne*, express the purpose to which the estate granted by the will may be used, and they also indicate what, according to the will, must not be done (cf. the term adjunct of purpose in Los 2007: 35–38).

- (17) Ac we sceolon **nu** cnucian. and infær biddan to heofenan rice. **na ðonne.**
 (ÆCHom II 332.177)
 ‘But we must now knock, and pray for entrance to the kingdom of heaven, not then’.
- (18) Ic Wulfgar an þæs landes æt Collingaburnan ofer minne dæg Æffan hiere dæg ...
 & ofer hiere dæg to Winteceastre þam niwan hierede **for mine sawle to habbenne & to brucenne & na of þam mynstre to sellanne.** (Ch 1533 (Rob 26.1))
 ‘I, Wulfgar, grant the estate at Collingbourne after my death to Æffe for her life time, ... and after her death [it shall pass] to the new community at Winchester, on behalf of my soul, to be held and enjoyed and never given away from the Minster’.
 (Translation Robertson)
- (19) Ageten is forhogadnis ofer aldermen heara & bisweocun hie **in ungefoernum & nales in wege.** (Ps(A) 106.39)
 Effusa est contemptio super principes eorum et seduxerunt eos in inuio et non in uia.
 ‘Contempt has been shed on their noblemen and they were seduced in the wilderness and not on a path’.

In example (19), the typical repetition of the preposition of the first half in the second half of the coordinated pair makes the construction symmetrical and balanced. Basing her argument on psychology, Fahnestock argues that different grammatical structures in the two halves of a contrastive construction tone down the contrast between the opposites. The positioning of paired opposites side by side, their equal

length, cadence and even rhyme are considered equally important (Fahnestock 2002: 50–51).

The basic formula *X and not Y* may also be expanded by an additional coordinated element placed either in the first or the second half of the construction (20). The recurring structures and prepositions make the constructions symmetrical and suitable for rhetorical purposes.

- (20) Ic wille ðurhgan orsorh ðone here **mid rodetacne gewæpnod. na mid readum scylde. oððe mid hefegum helme. oþþe heardre byrnan.** (ÆCHom II 289.52)
 ‘I will fearlessly go through the host, armed with the sign of the rood, not with red shield or with heavy helm, or hard corselet’.

Refutation of the opposite: not X but Y

The type *not X but Y* mainly consists of prepositional phrases or adverb phrases that function as adverbials (36 times) in a clause, while the other grammatical categories occur less frequently (Table 3). The coordinated pair consists of two contradictories, i.e. the adverbs *medemlice* ‘incompletely’/ *fulfremedlice* ‘perfectly’, and *lichamlice* ‘bodily’/ *gastlice* ‘spiritually’, in examples (21) and (22). The formula *na lichamlice ac gastlice* occurs frequently in Ælfric (for examples, see DOEC).

- (21) And to swa hwilcere leode swa we cumað we cunnon ðære gereord **na medemlice ac fulfremedlice.** (ÆCHom II 275.103)
 ‘And to whatsoever people we come, we know their language, not incompletely but perfectly’.
- (22) Hit wæron ða ylcan ðe we nu offriað **na lichamlice ac gastlice.** (ÆCHom II 155.190)
 ‘They were the same which we now offer, not bodily but spiritually’.

The intended contrast between the paired opposites is also enhanced by a uniform and balanced structure in prepositional phrases, as in (23) in which the contrast occurs between material (earthly oil) and spiritual (grace).

- (23) Crist is soðlice ealra biscopa biscop. and ealra cyninga cyning. nu is he gesmyrod **na mid eorðlicum ele. ac mid seofonfealdre gife** þæs halgan gastes. (ÆCHom II, 7.166)
 ‘Christ is [truly] Bishop of all bishops, and of all kings King; He is not anointed with earthly oil, but with the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost’.

The juxtaposition of the phrases *na mid deadum stanum* and *mid lybbendum sawlum* creates a twofold contrast in example (24). On the one hand, there is a contrast between the adjectives *dead* ‘dead’ and *lybbend* ‘living’, and on the other hand, between *stan* ‘stone’, which represents dead matter, and *sawel*, ‘soul’, which refers to the spirit and is living. Similarly, the contrasted pair *na on lybbendum mannum, ac on forðfarenum sawlum* (ÆLet4 (SigewardZ) 1187; ‘not of living men but of departed souls’) consists of twofold elements, namely those of life (*lybbendum*) and death (*forðfarenum*), and also of body (*mannum*) and soul (*sawlum*).

- (24) and se gesibsuma Crist getimbrode ða gastlican cyrcan. **na mid deadum stanum. ac mid lybbendum sawlum.** (ÆCHom II, 337.86)
 ‘The peaceful Christ constructed the spiritual church, not with dead stones, but with living souls’.

Double negation is occasionally employed for emphasis in early West Saxon texts. The hypothetical alternative is introduced either by the combination *nalles na* (25), or by *næs na* (26), both meaning ‘not at all’, ‘by no means’.

- (25) þa sona wæron ealle þa broþra swiþe geswencte & geunrotsode, **nalæs na for þy dæmme þæs wages fylles [na for þæs wages fylle, MS H], ac for geþræstednysse þæs broðres.** (GD (C) 125.8)
 contristati omnes et vehementer adflicti, non damno parietis, sed contritione fratris.
 (Moricca)
 ‘Then soon all the brothers were very sorry and grieved, not so much for the loss of the wall as for the death of their brother’.
- (26) **Næs na mid golde ne mid godwebbenum hræglum, ac mid godum dædum & halgum** we sceolan beon gefræt wode, gif we þonne willað beon on þa swiþran healfe Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes mid soþfæstum saulum & gecorenum, þa he sendeþ on ece leoht. (BlHom 95.19)
 ‘Not with gold nor with sumptuous-woven (purple) garments, but with good and holy deeds we must be adorned if we desire then to be on the right hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, along with faithful and chosen souls whom he will send into everlasting life’.
 (Translation Morris)

The double negative constructions *nalles na* and *næs na* also occur in the pattern *nalles na/næs na forþæm þe ... ac forþæm þe* ‘not because ... but because’, see example (5) above, and the pattern *nalles na/næs na þæt an þæt ... ac eac*, ‘not only ... but also’, which are not included.

8. Conclusion

The purpose of the article was to uncover the factors that explain variation among the negators *nalles*, *næs* and *na* in contrastive constructions in OE prose and glosses. The discussion was based on a synchronic description of the succeeding stages and a statistical analysis of the data which consisted of a select corpus of 19 texts.

The results indicate that the negator *nalles/næs* or the double negative construction *nalles/næs na* mainly occurs in texts, both West Saxon and Anglian, that date back to King Alfred’s time, whereas the majority of the occurrences of *na* go back to late West Saxon period. The spread of the negator *na* in late West Saxon, especially in Ælfric, simplifies the system of negators.

The texts are not homogenous, possibly due to the fact that a single text is usually compiled of various manuscripts covering a large span of time. Thus there are early West Saxon examples of *na* negating one of two alternatives, and there are also instances of the negator *nalles/næs (na)* in the same function in late West Saxon texts. However, it may be concluded that the variation between *na* and *nalles/næs (na)* is, at least partly, diachronic. Variation is also idiolectal, especially in Ælfric who resorts to the negator *na* exclusively. Due to the scarcity of Anglian material in my corpus, no conclusions on diatopic variation can be drawn.

An attempt was also made to answer the question why contrastive constructions are used and why they are more common in some texts than others. The analysis indicates that constructions of both the types *X not Y* and *X and not Y* in which the sentence element introduced by a negator gives prominence to the assertion preceding it, and the type *not X but Y*, in which the focus is at the end of the clause, are mainly employed as rhetorical means to

emphasize the words and phrases that the author considers important. Repetition of words and recurring grammatical structures in the two halves of the construction are used to enhance the intended contrast between the paired oppositions. Occasionally, the authors resort to ellipsis in order to emphasize which part is being contrasted. The constructions, which are typically based on dichotomies common in religious contexts, for instance, light vs. darkness, temporal vs. eternal, life vs. death, bodily or material vs. spiritual, and worldly vs. heavenly, often follow the Latin sources closely, as for example, in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. In addition to repetition, the rhetorical means include various figures of speech, and special devices, such as anaphora and antimetabole. The numerous occurrences of such devices in Ælfric's *Homilies* point to language contact with Latin.

Contrastive constructions are favoured in texts that are intended to influence people, which implies that variation is also genre-based. An example of such texts is a dialogue between a master who gives a lengthy answer to a short question posed by a disciple, as, for example, in Gregory's *Dialogues*. Contrastive constructions have a didactic function in such conversations. The other texts that are intended to influence people include Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and the Latin-based translations of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and *Cura Pastoralis* which represent different text types.

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8. Article III – Old English Negators as Equivalents of a Clause

Old English Negators as Equivalents of a Clause

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In this article an attempt is made to find out how Old English (OE) negators vary in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions, and how the negators function as reaction signals to express denial and refusal in OE prose. The corpus consists of all the occurrences of the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* in the prose texts and glosses of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC), supplemented with a select sample of occurrences of the particle *ne*. The data are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Despite the low number of occurrences of the five negators in polar answers, polar-alternative questions and as reaction signals, my study shows certain patterns in which the negators occur in the material. The results indicate that the negators are not intersubstitutable. Variation among the negators is mainly due to the immediate, syntactic environment in which the negator occurs. In addition, the variation is diatopic and genre-based rather than diachronic. The majority of the examples come from Latin-based texts.

1. Introduction

Expressions containing a negator can be classified roughly into two categories according to the scope of negation, i.e. the stretch of expression over which a negator has a semantic influence. A negative may operate upon a whole clause (sentence or clausal negation), *Many of us **did not want the war***, or upon one or more of the constituents of a clause (constituent and local negation), ***Not many of us** wanted the war* (Jespersen 1917: 44; Quirk et al. 1985: 775–778 and 787–794). In some expressions the scope of negation is restricted to a single negator. In such instances the negator is functionally equivalent to a whole sentence. There are three common types of such expressions (1–3).

- (1) *Do you smoke? – **No**, (**No**, I don't).*
- (2) *Are you ready or **not**?*
- (3) *He went there yesterday evening. – **No**, it is impossible.*

In example (1) the adverb *no* serves as a marker of negative polarity in an answer to a polar question (*yes-no* question). The negator may stand alone, 'No', but it may also occur as an adjunct and combine with a clause that expresses the response more explicitly, 'No, I don't' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 847–848). The second question (2) which is a shortened version of *Are you ready or aren't you ready?* consists of two alternatives. Logically it is equivalent to a polar question. In this article such questions are referred to as polar-alternative questions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 870–871). The term polar-alternative also refers to a subordinate *yes-no* clause, such as *I don't care if they join us or not*. In

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the third example (3) the negator is a kind of reaction signal to a statement (Quirk et al. 1985: 444).

Usually there is a single word expressing negation of types 1 and 3 in a language (cf. German *nein* and Swedish *nej*). In Old English there are several of them. Ælfric gives examples of the negators *nese* 'no' (4), *nic* 'no' (5), and the more emphatic *nates hwon* 'not at all' 'by no means', which translates the Latin *nequaquam* in example (6).¹ Instances of the negators *ne* (Koch 1878: § 579) and *na* (Kisbye 1971: 183) as polar adjuncts have also been mentioned in some grammars. Nusser (1913: 157) and Einkenel (1916: 78) discuss the negator *na* in polar-alternative questions.

- (4) Wylt ðu ðis? – **Nese**. (ÆGram 226.5)
 'Uis hoc? – Non.'
 'Will you have this? – No.'²
- (5) Wylt ðu fon sumne hwæl? – **Nic**. (ÆColl 109)
 'Uis capere aliquem cetum? – Nolo.'
 'Would you like to catch a whale? – No.'
 (Translation from Watkins 2013)
- (6) drunc ðu? – **nates hwon**. (ÆGram 226.13)
 'bibisti? – nequaquam.'
 'Did you drink? – Not at all.'

The notes on the five negators in answers to polar questions, polar-alternative questions and as reaction signals are scanty in grammars and studies on Old English negation. Campbell (1959) and Hogg (1992) do not include the negator *nese* in the word index of their grammars. The bulk of recent research into negation in OE prose has focused on the adverb *ne* and sentential negation (e.g. Kemenade 1999; Ohkado 2005; Ogura 2008; van Bergen 2008a, 2008b). Less attention has been paid to markers of negative polarity in responses to polar questions, even though researchers have shown interest in *yes-no* questions and the syntax of answers to polar questions in various other languages (e.g. Guðmundsson 1970; Holmberg 2001 and 2013; van Rooy & Šafářová 2003; Romero & Han 2004). Examples of expressions of types 1 and 2 mentioned above have been included in some older studies on Old English syntax, but, for example, Wülfing's study (Wülfing 1894 & 1901) is based on King Alfred's works only. The title of Pillsbury's study (1967), *Descriptive Analysis of Discourse in Late West-Saxon Texts*, sounds promising; however, he does not cast light on the problems of negation. Mitchell (1985) makes short references to the negators *na*, *nese* and *nic* as interjections in his *Old English Syntax*. Questions such as how the glossators and writers make their choices among the five negators in OE in the three types of expression mentioned above, and whether the negators are in free variation in such structures have remained unanswered in these studies.

A thorough study based on a large corpus is needed before such questions can be answered. An examination of variation among the negators in such structures through the OE period is important, since it forms a basis for the

¹The short titles of the OE texts follow those in Healey & Venezky 1980.

²The PDE translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. The Latin text of the West-Saxon Gospel passages is from Vulgata (1969). For the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, the Latin text cited is from the DOEC.

understanding and study of the development of comparable structures in the later stages of the language.

The purpose of this study is to find out how the negators vary in answers to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions, and how the negators function as reaction signals to express denial and disagreement in OE prose. The negators included are the following:

na
nateshwon
ne
nese
nic

This study is part of a series of articles which – contrary to the mainstream of recent studies on negation in Old English – mainly focus on constituent negation. The study comprises, in addition to a description of various structures, a quantitative analysis of the data. The conclusions are based on methodological triangulation, which implies the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods on the same subject of study (Cohen et al. 2003: 112–113).

Variation can be triggered by two types of factors. On the one hand, it may be caused by structural (internal) factors, such as the immediate, syntactic environment in which the negator occurs. On the other hand, the factors can be extra-structural (external), or contextual-situational (Rydén 1977: 12–13). In this article, The *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC), a corpus in which various OE texts have been classified according to period, prototypical text category and text type into categories, has been consulted in the study of variation based on extra-structural factors, i.e. genre-based, diachronic and diatopic variation.

2. The corpora studied

The data come from two sources. The first one is a select corpus of 19 prose texts that I collected for a series of articles on negation in Old English prose, of which one has been published. A preliminary study showed the scarcity of instances of the three types of expressions (1–3) in the material. In the corpus of 641,323 words, there are two examples of the negator *nic*, MtGl (Ru) 13.29, and *nese* [ue] *nic* MtGl (Ru) 25.9, 10 instances of the negator *nese*, Mt (WSCp) 13.29; 25.9, MtGl (Li) 13.29; *nese nese* MtGl (Li) 5.37, MtGl (Ru) 25.9, Bede 3 14.216.4, Bede 5 13.430.29, GD 2 (C) 4.112.3, GD Pref and 4 (C) 14 280.15, CP 42 308.6, and one instance of the phrase *nese la nese*, GDPref and 4 (C) 31.306.4. In addition, the negator *na* occurs twice in polar-alternative questions, Mt (WSCp) 22.17 and MtGl (Li) 22.17, whereas there are no occurrences of *na* in responses to polar questions in the corpus. All the examples mentioned above are from Latin-based texts.

In order to get a fuller picture of the three types of expressions in OE prose, I also consulted the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC) containing all the texts in OE. Hence, the final data comprises the occurrences of the negators *na*, *nese*, *nateshwon* and *nic* in the prose texts and glosses of the DOEC. The particle *ne* is a special case in polar responses, since, as a general rule, it is positioned immediately before a finite verb form in which position it negates a whole clause (Andrew 1966: 68). However, depending on the reading of a response to a polar question, there are instances in which the negator *ne* may

be considered independent (Koch 1878: § 579). Examples of such occurrences have been included, but no systematic analysis of each occurrence of the spelling form *ne* in the DOEC has been made.

The textual evidence attests four OE dialects: West Saxon, Northumbrian, Mercian and Kentish. However, scarcity of non-West Saxon prose is well-known. Documents in West Saxon, mainly late West Saxon, outnumber all the non-West Saxon (Anglian and Kentish) material put together (Crowley 1986: 97–112). In addition, the Anglian material mainly consists of interlinear glosses. In order to widen the non-West Saxon portion of the corpus the glosses have been included, even though they hardly reflect the general language of the period.

3. The five negators

Ne. A search through the DOEC yields 31,581 hits of the form *ne*, used either as an adverb or a conjunction. The particle *ne*, from the older *ni*, ‘not’, goes back to Indo-European **ne* (Holthausen 1934, s.v. *ne*). After elision of the vowel the particle *ne* becomes a kind of negative prefix *n-*, attached to some adverbs (e.g. *naefre* ‘never’, *nahwær* ‘nowhere’), pronouns (e.g. *nan*, ‘no one’, ‘none’, *naenig* ‘not any’), conjunctions (e.g. *nefne*, *nemne* ‘except’, ‘unless’) and verbs, provided they begin with a vowel, or *h-* or *w-* followed by a vowel. Hence there are also contracted verb forms introduced by the proclitic *n-*, such as *nis* (<*ne* + *is*), ‘is not’, *nyllan* (<*ne* + *willan*), ‘will not’, *naefst* (<*ne* + *haefst*), ‘you (sg.) have not’ etc. (Sievers & Brunner 1951: § 172A; Hogg 1992: 187–188).

Na. Amalgamation of the prefix *n-* with *a* or *o*, ‘ever’, gives *na* and *no*, ‘never’, which, after the loss of its temporal meaning by the OE period (Einenkel 1916: 79), becomes the adverb ‘not’ or ‘no’ (Holthausen 1934: s.v. *na*; see also Campbell 1959: § 132 fn 3, and Wright & Wright 1961: 69). A search through the DOEC yields some 3,500 hits of the adverb *na* (*no*) in the glosses and some 2,900 hits in the prose part of the corpus, some of which occur in an alternative question or as a response to a negative polar question.

Nateshwon. The adverb *nateshwon*, ‘not at all’, ‘by no means’, translates, according to ÆGram 226:6, Latin *haud* and *nullatenus*. Campbell considers *nateshwon* a shortened form of **nawihteshwon*, in which the loss of the vowel in a closed syllable counts for the word *nateshwon* (Campbell 1959: § 393). There are some 190 instances of this adverb (*nateshwon*, *nateshwan*, *nateswon*, *natepeshwon* etc.) in prose. It occurs once, see example (6) above, in a response to a polar question. *Nateshwon* mainly occurs as an intensifier in negative clauses. None of the occurrences are recorded in poetry (DOEC).

Nese. The negator *nese*, ‘not’, ‘no’, the antonym of the adverb *gese* ‘yes’, is a combination of the particle *ne* and the element *-se*, which goes back to the subjunctive verb form *sie* ‘be it’ (Koch 1878: § 579; Holthausen 1934: s.v. *nese*). A search through the DOEC yields 75 matches of the negator *nese* with its spelling variants (*naese*, *naesi*, *naeso*). It occurs either alone or emphatically as a repetitive pair, *nese nese*, or together with the element *la*, as the phrase *nese la nese*. The interjection *la*, ‘lo’ (Bosworth 1955: s.v. *la*), makes the phrase *nese la nese* an exclamation. Wülfing’s study on the syntax of King Alfred’s translations indicates that nearly 50 per cent of all the occurrences of *nese* are found in King Alfred’s works. This is probably due to the text type, since *nese* is a word likely to occur in the dialogues of King Alfred’s translations of *Boethius* and *Soliloquies*, but not, for example, in legal documents. It occurs sporadically in the Anglian glosses and in Ælfric’s works. No examples of *nese* are recorded in

poetry. *Nese* does not outlive the OE period (Kisbye 1971: 183). The negator *nay*, ‘no’, which goes back to Old Norse *nei*, compound of *ne* ‘not’ and *ei* ‘ever’, is recorded in Middle English (12c.) as a marker of polarity (see OED, s.v. *nay*).³

Nic. The negator *nic* is a combination of the adverb *ne* and the pronoun *ic* ‘I’. Mitchell (1985: §§ 243, 1239) discusses *nic* as a personal pronoun, ‘not I’, but he also includes it in his list of interjections. Jespersen considers *nic* an elliptical clause used as an exclamation in ÆColl 110, in which it translates Latin *nolo* (Jespersen 1917: 55). Hogg (1992: 188) regards *nic* as an ossified form, the translation of which could well be ‘no’. *Nic* occurs in both the West Saxon and Mercian versions of the Gospels, i.e., MtGl (Ru) 13.29; 25.9, Jn (WSCp) 1.21 and 18.17. Altogether, there are 5 occurrences of *nic(c)* in the DOEC.

Wülfing (1901, §§ 586, 1126) classifies *na* and *nese*, with the exclusion of the phrase *nese la nese*, as adverbs, whereas Mitchell (1985: § 1239) includes *nese*, *nic*, and even the negator *na* in his list of interjections. In his definition and classification of interjections Mitchell refers to Mustanoja (1960) and Offerberg (1967) by stating that an interjection is a word, which is ‘functionally equivalent to a whole sentence, i.e., it expresses an idea which is complete in itself’ (Mitchell 1985: § 1234).⁴ This definition, however, does not seem to cover all the different types of interjection (e.g. *hwæt* and *la*). In this article the five negators in answers to polar questions will be discussed as negative response words, without reference to any part of speech.

4. Negator as an answer to a polar question

Polar questions, both affirmative and negative, expect either affirmation, ‘yes’, or negation, ‘no’, as an answer. In Old English, the choice between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ depends simply on the polarity of the answer and ‘not, for example, on agreement vs disagreement with what may be suggested by the question’ (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 848). Hence Old English is a language with a positive-negative answering system (polarity-based system), in contrast to languages which have a system based on agreement-disagreement (truth-based system) (see Leslau 1962; Pope 1976: 129; Holmberg 2013: 32). Even though the choice between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ is simple, there is variation among the negators in responses to polar questions in Old English. The choice of the negator seems to depend on whether the question is in the affirmative or negative. Hence it seems reasonable to discuss the responses to affirmative and negative questions separately, and start with the former ones.

4.1 Responses to affirmative questions

The marker of polarity, ‘yes’, or, ‘no’, may occur alone or combine with a clause that expresses the answer more explicitly, as in the following, *Is this car yours?* – *Yes (it is)*, or *No (it isn’t)*. In *Yes it is* and *No it isn’t*, the *yes* and *no* can be

³In Early Middle English, the interjection *nai*, ‘no’, is used as an answer to a question, as an expression of disagreement, and “as an introductory word, with no direct negation”, MED s.v. *nai*. The adverb *na-se*, ‘by no means’, occurs in Middle English, but MED (s.v. *na-se*, cf. OE *na swa*, *nese*) gives no examples of it in responses to polar questions.

⁴I am much obliged to Inga Offerberg for her kindness for posting me a copy of the proofread version of her licentiate thesis, after the University Library in Stockholm had informed me that her thesis had disappeared from its collections.

regarded “as a special type of adjunct, a polarity adjunct” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 848). In Old English, polarity adjuncts include *gea*, ‘yes’, and *nic*, ‘no’, as, for instance, in examples (7) and (8).

- (7) æt ðu to dæg? – **Gea**, ic dyde (ÆGram 226.12)⁵
 ‘Have you eaten today? – Yes, I have.’
- (8) eart ðu of ðyses leorningnihtum; ða cwæð he, **nicc** ne eom ic. (Jn (WSCp) 18.17)
 ‘Are you one of this man’s disciples? Then he said, No, I am not.’

Table 1 shows the absolute numbers of instances of the negators in answers to both affirmative and negative polar questions in the corpus. The numbers are based on an analysis of the occurrences of each negator in the prose texts and glosses in the DOEC. The table indicates that the negator *nese* represents, either alone or in various formulae, some 80 per cent of all occurrences. It is used in responses to both affirmative and negative questions, whereas the negator *na* occurs exclusively in answers to negative polar questions. The negators *nateshwon* and *nic* occur sporadically as markers of negative polarity in answers to affirmative polar questions. Since the occurrences of the negator *ne* have not been studied systematically, *ne* is excluded from the table.

The numbers in Table 1 remain low, even though the preliminary corpus was expanded to comprise all prose texts and glosses in the DOEC. For example, there are more than 6,000 occurrences of the negator *na* (*no*) in the corpus, while only four of them occur in responses to polar questions. The number of instances is low in both columns. On the one hand, the scarcity of occurrences of the negators as polarity adjuncts is partly due to the data, which is biased towards legal documents, historical texts and homilies, i.e. text types in which dialogues are not likely to occur. In other words, the data is corpus-sensitive. On the other hand, responses to polar questions are occasionally formed without a polarity adjunct.

Table 1. The negators in negative responses to polarity questions in the DOEC prose texts and glosses: absolute numbers.

Negator	Question	
	Affirmative	Negative
na	0	4
nates hwon	1	0
nese	9	3
nese nese	7	0
nese la nese	8	0
næse † ne	1	0
nic	4	0
Total	30	7

⁵There is also the adverb *gyse* (*gise*, *gese*) from *gea sie*, ‘yes’. It occurs, for example, in answer to a negative question, e.g. *þa genealæton to Petre þa þæt gafol namon & þus cwædon: eower lareow ne gylt he gafol? þa cwæð he: gyse, he deð* (Mt (WSCp) 17.24), (Then those who collected taxes approached Peter and said in this manner: ‘Does your master not pay tribute?’ Then he answered: ‘Yes, he does.’), DOE s.v. *gyse*.

The verb of the response ‘echoes’ that of the question in examples (9)–(12) which are introduced by a complete clause without a negative polarity adjunct, and again in JnGl (Ru) 1.21, and 18.17; JnGl (Li) 18.17; Solil 1 51.7; ÆGram 226.6; ÆColl 67 and 162 etc.

- (9) **Wenst þu** hæfð se þeowa ænigne þanc for þam ðe he dyde þæt him be boden wæs? – **ne wene ic**. (Lk (WSCp) 17.9)
 ‘Numquid gratiam habet servo illi, quia fecit quae sibi imperaverat. non puto.’⁶
 ‘Do you think that the servant will receive any thanks because he did what he was commanded to do? – I do not think [so].’
- (10) **eart ðu** Elias – & he cwæð, **ne eom ic** hit (Jn (WSCp) 1.21)
 ‘propheta es tu et respondit non.’
 ‘Are you Elias? – And he said, I am not.’
- (11) **Wære þu** todæg beswungen? – **Ic næs**, forþam wærlice ic me heold. (ÆColl 279)
 ‘Have you been beaten today? – No, I haven’t since I behaved cautiously.’
 (Translation from Watkins 2013)
- (12) **Ne drincst þu** win? – **Ic ne eom swa spedig** þæt ic mæg bigean win. (ÆColl 300)
 ‘Don’t you drink wine? – No, I am not rich enough to be able to buy myself wine.’
 (Translation from Watkins 2013)

Table 1 indicates that the negator *na* occurs exclusively in answers to negative polar questions, while the negator *nese*, which is the most frequently used negator in such patterns, is used in responses to both affirmative and negative questions. A closer analysis of the distribution of the frequencies in Table 1 indicates that there are ten single word responses (*nese* 6, *nic* 3, *nateshwon* 1) to affirmative questions in the material. The negator is *nese* in examples (13) and (14), and again in Leof 16; Solil 1 18.6; ÆGram 226.4, and ÆCHom II, 17 164.114. The coordination of *nese* and *ne*, which gloss the Latin *non* in example (15), suggests that the negator *ne* may be stressed and used independently in answers to polar questions in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

- (13) Ða cwæð se Hælend to him, cnapan, cweðe ge **hæbbe ge sufol**? Hig andswarodon him & cwædon, **nese**. (Jn (WSCp) 21.5)
 ‘dicit ergo eis iesus pueri numquid pulmentarium habetis responderunt ei non.’
 ‘Then Jesus said to them, children, say whether you have anything to eat? – They answered him and said, No.’
- (14) wylt þu we gað & gadriað hig? – Ða cwæð he, **nese** þe læs ge þone hwæte awurtwalion þonne ge þone coccel gadriaþ. (Mt (WSCp) 13.28)
 ‘vis imus et colligimus ea et ait non ne forte colligentes zizania eradicetis simul cum eis et triticum.’
 ‘Would you like us to go and gather them? – Then he said, No; lest you root up the wheat with the tares while you gather them.’

⁶It is to be noted that the Latin negative question words *nonne* and *numquid* do not elicit translational solutions in the OE versions different from the other Latin question words, see examples (9, 13, 17, 29 and 30) in this article.

- (15) witga arð ðu & geonduærde **næse ȝ ne** (JnGl (Li) 1.21)
 ‘propheta es tu et respondit non.’
 ‘Are you a prophet? – No.’

There is only one instance of the negator *nateshwon* (example 6) in a response to a polar question in the material, while the negator *nic* occurs three times in a single word response in instances in which an answer in first person singular is expected,⁷ viz. in examples (5), (16) and MtGl (Ru) 13.29.

- (16) eart ðu witega; & he andwyrde & cwæð, **nic** (Jn (WSCp) 1.21)
 ‘propheta es tu et respondit non.’
 ‘Are you the prophet? – And he answered and said, No.’

Occasionally the response to a polar question consists of the negator *nese* (3 times) or *nic* (1) followed by a clause in which there is a negated repetition of the verb in the question, as in examples (17) and (18). A comparison of the OE version with the Latin original shows differences. In both instances, the translation is longer than the original. It seems that the OE versions are more emphatic than the simple patterns of the Latin text. The other examples are MtGl (Li) 13.29 and Solil 1 17.18.

- (17) eart ðu of ðyses learningcnihtum; ða cwæð he, **nicc ne eom ic**. (Jn (WSCp) 18.17)
 ‘Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius? Dicit ille: Non sum.’
 ‘Are you one of this man’s disciples? – He said, No, I am not.’
- (18) **Wast ðu** hwæt ðas þing ealle seon, ðe þu sceawadest & gesawa? –
 Andswarode ic him: **Nese**, cwæð ic, **ne wat ic** heo. (Bede 5 430.27)
 ‘Scis, quae sint ista omnia, quae uidisti? Respondi ego: Non.’
 (Colgrave & Mynors 1969)
 ‘Do you know what all these things are, which you have seen and beheld?
 – I answered him: No, said I, I know them not.’ (Translation from Miller 1959)

Various formulae, such as reduplication of the negator, add emphasis to the expression. The repetitive pair, *nese nese*, ‘no, surely not’, ‘no, not indeed’, ‘no, by no means’, occurs seven times in King Alfred’s translation of Boethius’ *De consolatione philosophiae*: example (19), and again in Bo 14 29.18; 14 29.29; 14 30.24; 24 56.2; 24 56.10 and 26 58.18.

- (19) Hwæðer ðu nu swelces auht wyrcan mæge, oððe geworhtes habbe?
 – **Nese, nese**. (Bo 14 29.22)
 ‘Couldst thou create any such thing, or maintain it when it is created?
 – Nay, by no means.’ (Translation from Sedgfield 1900)

The enclitic particle *la*, which is used to emphasize exclamation, affirmation and negation (Bosworth 1955, s.v. *la*), makes the formula *nese la nese* a strong exclamation, ‘no, by no means’, ‘no verily’, in example (20), and again in Solil 1 3.15; Solil 2 61.5; Bo 26 58.29; Bo 27.62.18 and GDPréf and 4 (C) 31.306.6. Heaping of negators, and the phrase *ne nawer neah* ‘nowhere near’, are also stylistic means of strengthening negation: example (21) and also Solil 2 61.13. Altogether there are eight instances of the formula *nese la nese* in answers to polar questions in the material.

⁷See, however, example (40) below.

- (20) Oððe, gyf seoðfæst man dead were, hweðer <soðfæstnes>þonne dead were. Ða cwæð ic: **nese, la nese; ne** mæg þæt **na** gewurðan. (Solil 1 52.8)
 ‘Or if a truthful man were dead, would truth then be dead? – Nay, nay, verily; that cannot come to pass.’ (Translation from Hargrove 1904)
- (21) Truwast ðu nu þe selfum and þinum geferum bet þonne ðam apostolum, þe weron Cristes selfes ðegnas? oððe þam hehfederum? oððe þam witgum, þe god self ðurh hi spec to hys folce þæt þæt he wolde? Ða cwæð ic: **Nese, la nese; ne** truige ic **na** us swa wel, **ne nawer neah** swa þam. (Solil 2 62.1)
 ‘Trustest thou now thyself and thy companions better than thou dost the Apostles, who were the servants of Christ Himself? Or the Patriarchs? Or the Prophets, through whom God Himself spake to His people what He would? – Nay, nay; I trust not ourselves so well, nor anywhere near, as I do them.’ (Translation from Hargrove 1904)

The particle *ne* nearly always precedes the finite verb form of a clause (Andrew 1966: 68; Mitchell 1985: § 1602). Since the connection between the particle and the verb is close, the particle normally negates the predicate verb and makes the whole clause negative, as for example, in *ne secge ic*, ‘I do not say.’ However, there are contexts in which it is also possible to read the particle as a polar adjunct, such as example (22) in which the response, *ne cueðo ic iuh to*, the Latin *non dico uobis*, may be read either as ‘I do not tell you [that]’ or ‘No, I tell you.’

- (22) woenað gie þætte sibb ic cuom to seallanne on eorðo **ne cueðo ic iuh to** ah þæt gescead. (LkGl (Li) 12.51)
 ‘putatis quia pacem ueni dare in terram non dico uobis sed separationem.’
 ‘Do you suppose that I came to bring peace on earth, no, I tell you, but separation.’

According to the latter reading the negator *ne* is stressed and independent, and the scope of negation is local, whereas in the former reading the scope of negation affects the predicate verb and extends over the whole clause. Instances of the same kind include example (23) and the following: LkGl (Li) 13.2; Lk (WSCp) 12.50; Lk Gl (Ru) 12.50, 13.2 and 13.4, with one of the mental verbs, such as ‘think’ and ‘suppose’ (see Tottie 1991: 41–43), in the question.

- (23) **Wenege þæt** hig wæron scyldige ofer ealle menn þe on Hierusalem wunedon.
 – **Ne secge ic**, ac swa ge forwurðað, buton ge dædbote don. (Lk WSCp) 13.4)
 ‘Do you suppose that they were more sinful than all other men who lived in Jerusalem? – ‘No, I tell you, but you will also perish, unless you repent.’

In example (23) OE *ne secge ic* (*eow*), ‘I do not say’, translates the Latin *non dico uobis*. In example (24), which is of the same kind, the response contains two negators, *ne* and *na*, which do not cancel out each other.

- (24) Ða cwæð he him andswarigende, **wenege** wæron þa Galileiscan synfulle toforan eallum Galileiscum, forþam þe hig swylc þoedon? – **Ne secge ic na**; ac ealle ge gelice forwurðað, buton ge dædbote don. (Lk (WSCp) 13.2)
 ‘Putatis quod hi Galilaei prae omnibus Galilaeis peccatores fuerint, quia talia passi sunt? Non, dico vobis: sed nisi poenitentiam habueritis, omnes similiter peribitis.’
 ‘He said to them and answered, Do you suppose that those Galileans were sinners to a greater degree than all the Galileans, because they suffered

such things? – No, I tell you, no: but, you will all perish likewise, unless you repent.’

The response, *ne secge ic na*, is a kind of formula used in responses to polar questions. It may be read as ‘I do not say [so]’, or ‘I do not say [so], no’, but there are also other readings. By adding two commas in the response, i.e. *ne, secge ic, na*, Koch (1878: § 579) breaks the connection between the negator *ne* and the finite verb form *secge* and drops the verb outside the scope of negation. The punctuation makes the negator *ne* independent and stressed (Cf. the strong negative οὐχι, ‘no’, in the Greek text). A word-by-word translation of Koch’s reading of the clause *ne, secge ic, na*, is ‘no, I say, no’, which is not an exact translation of the Latin *non dico uobis*, ‘no, I say to you’, since the addressee is not mentioned in the OE version.

4.2 Responses to negative questions

The columns of Table 1 differ in two respects. There is more variation among the negatives and different patterns in responses to affirmative polar questions than in responses to negative ones. The negators *nic* and *nateshwon* do not occur in responses to negative polar questions, whereas the negator *na* is used exclusively in them. What is common to both columns is the negator *nese* used alone in responses. The number of instances in the right-hand column is approximately one fifth of all the examples included in the table. There are seven occurrences of the negators *na* (4 times) and *nese* (3 times) introducing a response to a polarity question in the material.

The negator *na* stands alone as a polarity marker in the West Saxon version of the *Gospel of St. John* (25). The two glossators follow closely the Latin original, i.e. *quae dixit nemo domine*, in which the response is introduced by *nemo*, ‘no one’. The responses of the OE versions in the two glosses are literally ‘no one, Lord’ *naenigmonn drihten*, and ‘not anyone, Lord’ *ne aenigmon drihten*, in the two glosses.

- (25) *ne fordemde þe nan man. 7 heo cwæð na drihten [naenigmonn drihten JnGl (Li); ne aenigmon drihten JnGl (Ru)]. (Jn (WSCp) 8.10)*
 ‘Did anyone not condemn you? – and he said, No, Lord.’

Another instance, much like the previous one, is example (26) from Ælfric’s *Homilies*. In it the negator *na*, which Mitchell (1985: § 1239) considers an interjection, is followed by a negative clause in which the verb of the question *fordemde* is repeated.

- (26) *ne fordemde heora nan þe to deaðe for ðam? – Na, leofa Drihten, ne fordemde heora nan me. (ÆHom 14.224)*
 ‘Did any one of them not condemn you to death because of it?’ – No, Lord, not any one of them condemned me.’

The other instances of the negator *na* in responses to polar questions are (27), in which the negator stands alone, and example (28), in which it is followed by a negative clause.

- (27) *Lareow. ne ofþincð hit ðe gif ic þus wer geceose. Apollonius cwæð. Na ac ic blissige swiðor þæt þu miht [—] þe silf on gewrite gecyðan hwilcne heora þu wille. (ApT 32.2)*
 ‘Master, will it not vex thee if I thus choose a husband? Apollonius said: No; but I shall much more rejoice that thou, [—], canst thyself in writing

show which of them thou wilt.’ (Translation from Thorpe 1834)

- (28) **ne ondredest ðu ðe nu Achapemicos**, [—]? Ða cwæð ic: **Na**, ne ondrede ic hi me nawi(h)t swiðe.’ (Solil 1 21.10).
 ‘Dost thou not fear the Academicians, [—]? – Nay; I do not fear them much.’ (Translation from Hargrove 1904)

The negator *nese* serves as marker of negative polarity in a response to a negative question three times, examples (29) and (30), and again in JnGl (Li) 21.5.

- (29) hu nis þis se ðe sæt & wædlode? Sume cwædon, he hyt is, sume cwædon **nese**, [**nis æniht** (Li); (Ru)] ac is him gelic. (Jn (WSCp) 9.8)
 ‘nonne hic est qui sedebat et mendicabat alii dicebant quia hic est alii autem nequaquam [nequam (Ru)] sed similis est eius.’
 ‘Is this not he who sat and begged? – Some said, He is it, others said, No, but he is like him.’
- (30) Ða cwæð Benedictus deogollice to þæs mynstres fæder, þam wæs nama Pompianus, & to Maure þam Godes were: ac la **ne** geseoð git, hwæt se sy, þe þysne munuc ut atyhð? – Hi andswarodon him & cwædon: **nese**. (GD 2 (C) 111. 28)
 ‘tunc eidem patri monasterii Pompeiano nomine et Mauro Dei famulo secreto dixit: “numquid non aspicitis quis est qui istum monachum foras trahit?” qui respondentes dixerunt: “non.” (Moricca 1966)
 ‘Then Benedictus spoke secretly to Pompeianus, father of the Abbey, and to Maurus, the man of God saying: Do you not see who it is that allures this monk?
 – They answered him and said: No.’

Examples (25)–(30) show dialectal variation. There are no examples of the negators *na* or *nese* in responses to negative polar questions in the Anglian glosses.

4.3 Summary

The discussion above shows that part of the variation among the negators in responses to polar questions can be explained by internal factors, i.e. by the immediate, syntactic environment in which the negator occurs. But part of the variation is also extra-structural, i.e. based on variation across space (diatopic variation), across time (diachronic variation), and text type (genre-based variation).

Comparison between the dialects is possible on the lexeme level. The discussion above indicates that the negator *nese* is used in responses to polar questions in both the *West-Saxon Gospels* and the Northumbrian *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The *Rushworth Gospels*, glossed by two scribes, Farmon and Owun, represent two dialects, Mercian and Northumbrian. Farmon, whose language is Mercian, wrote the gloss to the whole of Matthew, to Mk 1–2¹⁵ and also to Jn 18^{1–3}, whereas the rest was glossed by Owun, who is Northumbrian (Ker 1957; Breeze 1996: 394–395, see also Tamoto 2013: xxx–xxxii). Both Farmon and Owun know the negator *nese* (Mt Gl(Ru), 25.9; Lk Gl (Ru) 16.30; JnGl(Ru) 7.12), but neither of them uses it in responses to polar questions. This implies that the gloss by Owun differs from that of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* in regard to the number of occurrences of the negator *nese* in responses to polar questions. The differences suggest that part of the variation may also be either

intradialectal or idiolectal. There are also other differences. The negator *nic* occurs in both West Saxon and Old Mercian versions of the Gospels, whereas all the examples in which the negator *na* is recorded in answers to negative polar questions are West Saxon.

The size of the OE section of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC) is c. 413,000 words. The texts of the OE sub-period have been classified according to period, dialect, text type and prototypical text category, thus providing a good frame for the examination of genre-based, diatopic and diachronic variation (Kytö 1996).

The genre of the texts quoted above varies. Following the categorization of the HC, the texts with negative polar responses fall in the following prototypical text categories: non-imaginative narration (*Gregory's Dialogues* MS C and H, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*), imaginative narration (*Apollonius of Tyre*), religious instruction (Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*, Ælfric's *Homilies*, *Vision of Leofric*), and the Bible (*West-Saxon Gospels*, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, *Rushworth Gospels*). In addition, there are three texts which lack the value of prototypical text category in the HC, i.e. Alfred's *Boethius* and *Soliloquies* and Ælfric's *Grammar*, and also Ælfric's *Colloquy* which is not included in the HC. The list consists almost completely of Latin-based texts. Polar questions and answers, polar alternative questions and signal words typically occur in texts with dialogues.

For diachronic purposes, OE texts have been grouped into four subsections according to the date of the manuscript in the HC. The bulk of occurrences discussed above falls on the years of the third subsection (950–1050), but there are also examples of the negator *nese* in texts that date back to both the earlier subsection (850–950), i.e. Alfred's *Boethius*, Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and the fourth subsection (1050–1150), Alfred's *Soliloquies* and *Vision of Leofric*. It can be concluded that extra-structural variation is genre-based and diatopic rather than diachronic.

5. Negator in polar-alternative questions

Alternative questions may be defined as questions that 'have as answers a set of alternatives given in the question itself' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 868). For example, the two answers to the question, *Is it right or wrong?*, i.e. *It is right* and *It is wrong*, may be derived directly from the question. A special kind of alternative question consists of a positive and its negative counterpart, as in *Are you ready or aren't you ready?* Such a question, which in the present study is referred to as polar-alternative question, is logically equivalent to polar questions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 868–870). The second part of the question may also be reduced to 'or not'. The full form gives a polar-alternative question a special, petulant tone, as, for example, in *Are you ready or are you not ready?* (Quirk et al. 1985: 824).

In Old English, the latter part of a polar-alternative question consists of the word for the coordinator 'or', i.e. *oppe*, *pe*, or, in the glosses, the crossed l (*l*, Latin *vel*), and the negator *na*, *no(o)*. Eight instances of such patterns, six in direct questions and two in sub-clauses, are recorded in the material. In the Gospels the form of the question follows the pattern, 'Is it allowed / right to do A or not?', as in example (31), and again in Mt(WSCp) 22.17 and Mt(Li)

22.17. The negator *na* (*no*) translates Latin *non* both in the West Saxon and the Anglian versions. The pattern *syllan ... oððe na* ‘to give ... or not’ occurs once in such a question outside the Gospel versions (32).

- (31) Ys hit riht þæt man casere gafol sylle **þe na** [[uel] **no** Li; [uel] **noo** Ru],
(Lk (WSCp) 20.22)
‘licet nobis dare tributum caesari [cassari (Ru)] an [aut (Ru)] non.’
‘Is it lawful to give tribute to emperor, or not?’
- (32) An munuc com and gyrnde mire dehter; sylle ic hi him **oððe na**
(LS 35 (VitPatr) 77)
‘A monk came and yearned for my daughter; shall I give her to him, or not?’

In examples (33) and (34) the pattern *opþe/ na* occurs in a sub-clause, in which it translates Latin *an/aut non*.

- (33) anra gehwylc wat gif he beswungen wæs **opþe na**. (ÆColl 283)
‘unusquisque scit si flagellatus erat an non.’
‘Each one knows if he was beaten or not.’
- (34) & ondswarda ðe hælend cwæð to æs witgum & aldormonnum hiæ cwedun gif gilefed is on symbeldæge ðe gilecniga **ī no**. (LkGl (Ru) 14.3)
‘Et respondens iesus dixit ad legis peritos et pharissaeos dicens si licet sabbato curare aut non.’
‘And Jesus answered and said to the lawyers and elders, asking whether it is allowed to heal on the sabbath day or not?’

Instead of ‘or no(t)’, the alternative may also be introduced by the negator *ne* immediately followed by a finite verb form which may be either contracted or non-contracted. In examples (35) and (36) the contracted verb form *nis* ‘echoes’ the non-negative form *is* of the first part of the question, i.e. **is alæfed ... opþe nis* (*alæfed*), and *is ... ðe ne nis*. Similarly in example (37) in which the verb form is non-contracted *sy ... ðe ne sy*.

- (35) **is** alæfed to sellane gæffel kasere **opþe nis** [**þe na** (WSCp); **ī no** (Li)]
(MtGl (Ru1) 22.17)
‘licet censum dari caesari an non’
‘Is it lawful to give tribute to emperor, or not?’
- (36) **Is** Drihten mid us **ðe ne nis**? (Exod 17.7)
‘Is the Lord with us, or is he not?’
- (37) Ga hider near þæt ic æthrine ðin, sunu min, ond fandige **hwæðer ðu sy** min sunu Esau **ðe ne sy**? (Gen 27.21).
‘Accede huc, ut tangam te, fili mi, et probem utrum tu sis filius meus Esau, an non.’
‘Come near, that I may touch you, my son, and examine whether you are my son Esau or are you not.’

Einenkel suggests that the use of the OE negator *na* in ModE ‘or no’ goes back to the pattern *opþe na ne sy*, which, through ellipsis, would result in the phrase *opþe na*, and later ModE ‘or no’. He gives the following example, HomU 34 (Nap 42) 119 *Ðonne tweonað <fela> <manna> ... hwæðer he sy se soða*

godes sunu oððe na ne sy (Einenkel 1916: 78). His conclusion needs reconsideration in two respects. The pattern *na ne* + *V*, in which the negator *na* serves as an intensifying element before the particle *ne*, is fairly common in OE prose, as, for example, in *ðe hi na ne geleornodon* (CP 0.25.11; ‘which they did not learn’), *ðæt he ðæt good na ne dyde* (CP 37.265.10; ‘that he did not do good’), and again in CP 17.115.17; 28.181.16; 36.261.7 etc., but this pattern is not likely to occur after the coordinator *oppe* or *pe*. In fact, the example Einenkel mentions is the only occurrence of this kind in the material. In addition, a number of examples indicate that the OE ‘or’ (Bosworth 1955, s.v. *pe*) is usually followed by single negation, as in examples (35–37), and again in patterns like the following in which the verb form is contracted: *hweðer ðu were þe nære* ‘whether you exist or do not exist’ (Solil 2 56.10); *wilt þu þe nelt* ‘whether you will or don’t’ (GD(C) 50.3); and also GD(C) 226.26 etc. A more likely explanation for the negator *na* in the phrase ‘or no(t)’ is simply the fact that, in this function, there is hardly any other alternative than the negator *na*. Unlike the four other negatives, the negator *na* can perform various functions, whereas both *nese* and *nic* are independent negators which occur initially as polarity adjuncts in answers to questions. The negator *nateshwon* is typically an intensifying adverb in negative clauses, and the particle *ne* is not used independently. In addition, the negator *na* (*no*) occurs in all dialects in OE.

6. Negator as a reaction signal

Occasionally *yes* and *no* occur as responses to statements and directives. Statements are typically declarative clauses used for informing and they do not expect a specific response from the addressee (Biber et al. 2013: 248–249). However, responses of the following kind are not uncommon in the spoken language, *She did very well – Yes (she did)*, or, *No, she didn’t*; and again in the following: *She didn’t do very well – Yes, she did*, or, *No (she didn’t)*. A directive is typically an imperative clause. *Yes* and *no* can be used to express the addressee’s intention to comply with a positive or negative directive, as, for example, in the following (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 848): *Remember to lock up – Yes, (I will)*; *Don’t forget to lock up – No, (I won’t)*; *Tell me who did it – No (I won’t)*. The last mentioned example shows that *no* is also used to indicate refusal to comply with a positive directive. In each example, *yes* and *no* function as reaction signals.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the negators in responses to statements, directives and questions⁸ (other than polar questions) in OE texts. Altogether, there are 22 examples of negators (21 *nese*, 1 *nic*) used as reaction signals in the material.

The word expressing disagreement to a statement is the negator *nese*, as, for example, in *Sume cwædon, he is god, oðre cwædon, nese, ac he beswicð þis folc*. (Jn (WSCp) 7.12; ‘Some said, He is good; others said, No, but he deceives the people’, in which it indicates the addressees’ disagreement with the speakers on

⁸The only instance of a negative as a reaction signal to a question is the following: *Hu mæg þæt yfel beon þætte ealces monnes ingeþanc wenð þætte good sie, & æfter higað, & wilnað to begitanne? – Nese, nis hit na yfel; þæt is þæt hehste good*. (Bo 24.56.3) ‘How can that be evil which the mind of every man thinketh good, and striveth after, and desireth to possess? No, it is not evil, but the highest good.’ (Translation from Sedgfield 1900).

Table 2. Negators as reaction signals in the DOEC prose texts and glosses: absolute numbers.

Negator	Negator as response to		
	statement	directive	question
nese	6	4	1
nese nese	2	1	0
nese la	1	1	0
nese la nese	0	2	0
næso † næse	1	0	0
nese † nic	0	1	0
Total	10	9	1

the goodness of the man the speakers are referring to. In fact, the negator *nese* stands for a complex clause, such as ‘It is not true that he is good’ or ‘It is not so that he is good’ in the example. Instances of the same kind include JnGL (Ru) 7.12; *næso* < † > < *næse* > JnGL (Li) 7.12; Bede 14.216.4; *nese*, *min* < *cylde* >, *nese*, ‘No, my child, no’ Solil 3.68.14, HomU 26 (Nap 29) 184, and example (38)), in which the adverb *sopes*, ‘verily’, ‘indeed’, ‘really’ (Bosworth 1955, s.v. *sopes*), serves as a strengthening element in the phrase *nese sopes*, ‘no, indeed’, or ‘by no means’.

- (38) Ða on þam ehteoþan dæge hig comon – 7 nemdon hyne hys fæder naman zachariam, Ða andswarode his modor **nese sopes** [**nænig ðing** Ru; **ænigom ðing** Li] ac he byð iohannes genemned. (Lk (WSCp) 1.59)
 ‘in die octavo venerunt, [—], et vocabant eum nomine patris sui Zachariam. Et respondens mater ejus, dixit: Nequaquam, sed vocabitur Joannes.’
 ‘And on the eighth day they came [—] and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. – And his mother answered and said, No verily; but he shall be called John.’

The phrase *nese sopes* translates the Latin *nequaquam* in the West Saxon version of the *Gospel of St John*, whereas in the two other versions of the Gospel the glossators resort to a pronoun used adverbially, i.e. *nænig ðing* in LkGl (Ru) 1.60, and, without a negator [!], *ænigom ðing* in LkGl (Li) 1.60.

Means of emphasis also include reduplication of the negator *nese*, LS 34 (Seven Sleepers) 548, ÆLS (Basil) 644 and Solil 3 68.22, or the use of the formula *nese la*, LS 34 (Seven Sleepers) 250.

A directive, which is used to give orders or requests, is usually an imperative clause urging the addressee to do something or not to do something. In OE, the grammatical form of the directive varies, since, excluding the rare first person plural imperative form in *–an*, or *–on*, the imperative proper exists in the second person singular and plural only (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: § 135). In example (39) the directive is in the plural. In the West Saxon version, the refusal to give oil consists of the negator *nese* followed by a clause in which the reasons for the refusal have been given, while in the Mercian version the Latin *non* has been glossed by two negators given as alternatives. The coordination suggests that *nese* and *nic* are intersubstitutable as reaction signals in Old Mercian. Hence, the negator *nic*, regardless of its etymological transparency, may also be used in instances in which a response in first person plural is expected.

- (39) Syllaþ us of eowrum ele forþam ure leohtfatu synt acwencte; Ða andswarudun þa gleawan ond cwædun, **nese**, [**nese** † **nic** MtGL (Ru¹)] þe læs þe we & ge nabbon genoh. (Mt (WSCp) 25.8)
 ‘Date nobis de oleo vestro, quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur. Responderunt prudentes, dicentes: Ne forte non sufficiat nobis, et vobis.’
 ‘Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. The wise answered and said, No; lest there would not be enough for us and you.’

For the third person, exhortations are expressed by means of the subjunctive (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: § 135), as in example (40) in which the directive is in third person plural. Again, the two versions differ. By adding the interjection *la* after the negator *nese*, the Mercian glossator makes the response an exclamation in 16.29 MtGL (Ru), while the West Saxon version has simply the negator *nese*.

- (40) hig habbað Moysen & witegan; hig hlyston him, ða cwæð he, **nese** fæder Abraham [**nese** **la** fæder MtGL (Ru)], ac hig doð dædbote gif hwyrc of deaðe to him færð (Lk (WSCp) 16.29)
 ‘et ait illi Abraham habent Mosen et prophetas audiant illos at ille dixit non Pater Abraham sed si quis ex mortuis ierit ad eos paenitentiam agent.’
 ‘They have Moses and the prophets, let them listen to them – He said, No, father Abraham, but they will repent if any one risen from the dead goes to them.’

The imperative of first person plural, which is periphrastic in OE, as, for example, in *uton ændian þas boc*, ‘let us end this book’, is a special type of imperative clause, since the suggestion involves both the speaker and the addressee. There are two instances of such a pattern in the material, Solil 1 46.14, and example (41). In both of them the refusal not to comply with the directive is introduced emphatically by the exclamation *nese la nese*, ‘by no means, no’.

- (41) Ða cwæð heo: Uton ændian þas boc nu <hær>hrihte and secgen on <oðræ>bec scyrtran wæg, gyf wet magen. Ða cwæð ic: **næse**, **la nese**; uton ne forlætan gyet ðas boc, ær ic sweotolor ongytan magæ þæt þæt wit æmbe sint. (Solil 1 50.12)
 ‘Let us now end this book here properly, and name a shorter way in another book, if we can. – Nay, nay; let us not leave this book yet until I am able to understand that which we are after.’ (Translation from Hargrove 1904)

In two instances, the request is made indirectly. The negator *nese* indicates refusal to comply with the request made in the sub-clause in example (42) and again in example (43) in which the addressee expresses his intention to comply with a request not to forget what he had been taught.

- (42) ic þe bidde, min hlaford, þæt min swuster Benedicta mote mid me cuman. Ða andswarede he hire & cwæð: **nese** (GDPref and 4 14.280.11)
 ‘I beseech you, my Lord, that my sister Benedicta might come with me. – Then he answered to her and said: No.’
 (43) ac þæt an ic þe bebiode, þæt þu þeah for ðære tæcinge ne forgite þæt þæt ic ðe ær tæhte. ða cwæð ic: **Nese**, ne forgite ic hit no. (Bo 34.90.1)
 ‘One thing I charge thee, and that is, not to forget in the showing of it what I have already taught thee. – Then I said: No, indeed, I shall not forget it.’
 (Translation from Sedgefield 1900)

The discussion indicates that the negator *nese* also serves as reaction signal in the three dialects, either alone, as repetitive pair *nese nese* or in the formulae *nese*

la and *nese la nese*, which are exclamations. With the exclusion of one example of the negator *nic*, the other negators do not occur as responses to statements and directives. In addition to the Latin-based texts, which are in the majority, there are also examples of the negator *nese* in texts which are not translations from Latin, such as the *Lives of Saints*.

7. Concluding remarks

The factors that explain the variation among the five negators in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions, and as reaction signals in OE prose, are mostly internal, such as the immediate, grammatical environment in which the negator occurs.

The negator *nese* is a stressed, multi-purpose word, which is used in answers to both affirmative and negative polar questions, and as a negative reaction signal in various speech acts, such as responses to statements or directives. For emphasis it may be reduplicated. The element *la* makes the phrase *nese la nese* a strong exclamation. Since it is always positioned initially, *nese* does not occur in polar-alternative questions. The use of the negator *na*, ModE ‘no’, is more constrained than that of *nese*. It serves as marker of negative polarity in responses to negative polar questions, but it also occurs in polar-alternative questions in the pattern ‘or no(t)’. Due to its etymological transparency, the grammaticalized form *nic* is, with one exception, used in answers to affirmative polar questions in instances in which a response in first person singular is expected. Since *nic* is always positioned initially in a clause, it does not occur in polar-alternative questions, either. The negator *nateshwon*, written as two words, occurs once in a response to an affirmative question.

Variation may also be explained partly by external, i.e. extra-structural factors. It seems that variation is diatopic and genre-based rather than diachronic. The Gospel translations indicate that the negator *nese* occurs in three dialects, West Saxon, Mercian and Northumbrian. As pointed out above, it is used in answers to polar questions in both the *West-Saxon Gospels* and the Northumbrian *Lindisfarne Gospels*, whereas in the *Rushworth Gospels* the negator *nese* only occurs as a reaction signal. The differences in the occurrences of the negator *nese* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the gloss by Owun suggest that the variation regarding the negator in Old Northumbrian is intradialectal or idiolectal. The instances in which the negator *na* is recorded in answers to negative polar questions are West Saxon, whereas in polar-alternative questions it occurs in both the Northumbrian and West Saxon versions of the Gospels. In some contexts it is possible to read the particle *ne* immediately preceding a finite verb form exceptionally as stressed and independent in the three Gospel versions.

Even though my corpus is comprehensive, covering all the prose and gloss occurrences of the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* in the DOEC, the data turn out meagre and corpus-sensitive. Dialogues and conversations, in which polar answers, polar alternative questions and signal words typically occur, are scarce in the material. In addition, the majority of the examples come from Latin-based texts, the three Gospel versions and King Alfred’s translations of Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and *Soliloquies*. Only a few of the occurrences of the five negators in the three types of expression come from texts that do not have direct connection to Latin. Hence it is not possible to state how the choices made by the scribes reflect the use of the five negators in the vernacular.

Despite the low number of occurrences of the five negators in the material, my study shows certain patterns in which the negators occur in OE prose. The results indicate that the negators are not intersubstitutable, in other words they are not in free variation in such patterns. Since the number of occurrences of each negator is low, generalizations and conclusions regarding both internal and external variation among them will remain tentative.

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9. Article IV – Negative Raising in Old English with Special Reference to the Verb *wenan*

NEGATIVE RAISING IN OLD ENGLISH

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VERB *wenan*

Abstract

The aim of this article is to show that there are examples of Negative Raising (NR) in Old English (OE) prose, and that they are more numerous than has been hitherto assumed. The approach is both descriptive and quantitative. The data, which has been drawn from the online database of *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC), consists of the occurrences of the verbs *wenan*, *willan*, *gelyfan* and *þyncan* in complex sentences in OE prose. The detailed analysis of the examples and quantitative part of the article are based on the verb *wenan*. The results indicate that the placement of the negative element in the matrix clause in a complex sentence is mainly due to pragmatic factors. In some instances, the Latin source may have influenced the ordering of the clauses in the translation, but the data does not provide any evidence that the source has been the basis for the OE constructions.

Keywords: Negative raising, Old English, negation, scope of negation

1. Introduction

In a simple clause, negation is linked to a negative operator and the scope of negation, i.e. the part of a clause that is affected by negative meaning. A negative may operate upon a whole clause, or upon one or more of the constituents of a clause. However, in a complex sentence, the question of what is negated is not always easy to answer.

This article is about a particular type of negation in complex sentences where the complement of the matrix clause is a finite nominal clause introduced by *þæt(te)* 'that'. In such sentences, with certain verbs denoting belief and assumption, a negative element in the matrix clause can be interpreted as the negation of the subordinate clause predicate. In these instances, the scope of negation stretches atypically over the proposition indicated in the subordinate clause (Miestamo 2009: 223). In this article, the phenomenon is referred to as Negative Raising (henceforth NR).¹

Example (1) has a reading in which the negative element in the matrix clause seems to refer to the nominal clause, where it logically (Jespersen 1917: 53) and semantically belongs, thus making (1) more or less equivalent to (2) on the semantic level (Quirk et al. 1985: 1033; Nuyts 1990: 561).²

¹ The term negative raising (neg-raising, NR) stems from transformational grammar, in which it refers to a rule which optionally moves the negation out of the complement clause of certain verbs, such as *think*, into the matrix clause (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1978: 358). This phenomenon is also referred to as *neg-raising* (Tottie 1991), *negative transport*, or *not-hopping* (see Miestamo 2009), *negative's travel* (Seuren 1978), *not-transportation* (Lakoff 1978), or *transferred negation* (Quirk et al. 1985), etc.

² There could not be a situation in which (1) was true and (2) false, or vice versa (Lakoff 1978: 175).



- (1) I *don't* think that Bill likes Mary.
- (2) I think that Bill *doesn't* like Mary.

However, the two examples are not really synonymous. NR, which is particularly common in informal style, makes (1) milder and pragmatically more polite than (2). The intonation pattern may also have a bearing on the interpretation of a sentence in spoken language.³ Example (1) also has the interpretation (3), occasionally referred to as “the strong reading”, in contrast to “the weak reading” of example (2) (Fischer 1999: 57). On this interpretation, the negation refers to the matrix clause (Lakoff 1978: 175).

- (3) It is *not the case* that I think that Bill likes Mary.

It appears that this complex phenomenon calls for a description in which grammatical and pragmatic approaches complement each other.

Conflicting views have been presented regarding NR in Old English (OE). On the one hand, Traugott (1992) and Fischer (1999) contend that there are no true cases of NR from that period. On the other hand, Mazzon (2004: 40) refers to such instances by presenting four examples of verbs denoting belief or assumption, namely *gelyfan* ‘believe’, *willan* ‘will, wish’ and *wenan* ‘ween, think, suppose, expect’, and one instance of the verb *gemunan* ‘remember, bear in mind, consider’ in sentences in which the negation is moved from the nominal clause to the matrix clause. She concludes that these instances cannot be classified “as anything but cases of Neg-Raising” (Mazzon 2004: 40).

Mazzon’s findings raise questions as to the distribution of such constructions in OE. Her conclusion also leaves room for further studies. The impersonal verb *byncan* ‘appear, seem’, which also takes a *þæt* complement in OE, has to be added to the list of verbs that may trigger NR. Mazzon provides evidence of NR in OE, but her conclusions are based on a limited corpus. Quantitative testing of larger data is needed in order to have a full picture of the frequency and distribution of such constructions in OE.

In this article, the focus is on the constructions in which the negation is transferred from the nominal clause to the matrix clause. These constructions are compared with instances in which the negation occurs in its logical position in the nominal clause. The article consists of a descriptive and quantitative analysis of data drawn from *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC). The verb *wenan* has the highest number of occurrences of NR among the verbs mentioned above; that is

³ Cf. also the following instance in Quirk et al. (1985: 1033) in which the focus is placed on *think*: *John doesn't think Bill likes Mary; he knows Bill does*. Here the negation refers to the matrix clause.

why I base the detailed analysis of the constructions and the quantitative part of the article on this verb. Examples of the other verbs are also given. The conclusions are based on methodological triangulation, which implies the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods on the same object of study (Cohen et al. 2003: 112–113).

The data comprises the occurrences of the verbs *wenan*, *gelyfan*, *þyncan*, and *willan* in the prose part of DOEC. The verb *þencan* ‘think’, which also expresses simple supposition in OE, rarely occurs in the same type of context as the verb *wenan* ‘think, suppose, expect’. Ogura (1996: 67) illustrates the typical function of *wenan* by referring to the West Saxon Gospel translations, in which it renders Latin *putare*, whereas *þencan*, as the counterpart of Latin *cogitare* ‘think, ponder, wonder, imagine’, is mainly used to express the mental process of thinking. OE *þyncan* and *þencan* are separate verbs.⁴ In the OE period, the verb *þyncan* is used impersonally in the sense ‘to seem’ (Palander-Collin 1997: 376).

The aim of this article is to show that there are OE examples of NR and that they are more numerous than has been hitherto assumed. The article contains five sections. Following the introductory section, section 2 contains a short survey of the main characteristics of classical NR-constructions in PDE, i.e. sentences in which the complement of the higher verb is a finite nominal clause. This section also includes a survey of research on NR in Old English. Section 3 introduces the data and method used, section 4 deals with NR associated with the verb *wenan* as the most frequent verb in this construction, and section 5 with NR associated with the three other verbs. Section 6 provides a concise summary of the findings of the data.

2. Negative raising as a linguistic phenomenon

2.1. Verbs denoting belief and assumption

Different verbal predicates that take *that*-complements behave in different ways as to whether they allow NR or not. The non-factive cognitive verbs denoting belief and assumption, such as *think*, *suppose* and *believe*, permit the transfer of the negative element from the nominal clause to the matrix clause. NR has a modal function in that constructions such as (1) above typically express the speaker’s mental state or epistemological stance towards what is said (Mazzon 2004: 9). In example (1) it is not the *thinking* which is negated, but *Bill’s liking of Mary*. The focus is on the content of the subordinate clause, and the scope of negation, i.e. the stretch of language over which the negative element has semantic influence (Quirk et al. 1985: 787), extends over the subordinate clause.

Horn regards the transfer of the negative element from the complement *that*-clause to the matrix clause as an example of the uncertainty principle. According

⁴ In the Middle and Early Modern periods, these verbs converged and developed into their Modern English counterpart *think*, and *thought* in the past tense. OE *þyncan* is preserved in archaic *methinks* ‘it seems to me’ (Palander-Collin 1997: 375–377). For Middle English examples of NR with the verb *think*, see Fischer (1999: 71–79).

to this principle, the force of negation “weakens with the distance of the negative element from the constituent with which it is logically associated” (Horn 2001: 316; see also Quirk et al. 1985: 1033). Example (1) is more tentative in expressing the negativity of the utterance than its otherwise synonymous counterpart, example (2), with lower-clause negation (Israel 2006: 709).

In order to characterize the verbs that allow NR, Horn (2001: 325) arranges the different predicates on a scale according to the strength of subjective certainty (belief- and knowledge-based predicates) or strength of obligation (obligation- and permission-based predicates). He concludes that the predicates that have mid-scalar values on the scale, such as *believe*, *think*, *be likely*, which do not radically change their position on the scale when negated, allow negative raising, whereas weak and strong epistemic or deontic predicates, which change their position on the scale, do not. Thus the negation of a weak scalar value (e.g. *be possible*, *allow*) will be a strong value on the corresponding negative scale (*impossible*, *forbid*), and the negation of a strong scalar value (e.g. *certain*, *have to*) will be a weak value on the corresponding negative scale (*not certain*, *doesn't have to*). The negation of a mid-scalar value, (e.g. *be likely*, *be advisable*) will be an intermediate value on the corresponding negative scale (e.g. *be not likely*, *be not advisable*), which “allows for the (partial) synonymy between sentences where the negation is in the upper clause and sentences where it is in the embedded clause” (Miestamo 2000: 224).

Horn (2001: 323) categorizes the verbs that trigger NR into the following five semantic groups denoting (a) opinion, (b) perception, (c) probability, (d) intention or (e) volition/judgement. Quirk et al. (1985: 14.36) also include the verbs *anticipate*, *be supposed to*, *calculate*, *expect*, and *figure* (informal AmE) in group (a).

- a. think, believe, suppose, imagine, expect, reckon, feel
- b. seem, appear, look as if/like, sound as if/like, feel as if/like
- c. be probable, be likely, figure to
- d. want, intend, choose, plan
- e. be supposed to, ought, should, be desirable, advise, suggest

It is difficult to explain why one verb triggers NR whereas another verb from the same semantic group does not. For instance, the verbs *assume*, *presume* and *surmise*, which are similar to some of the verbs in group (a) above, do not generally allow transfer of negation. Thus, examples (8) and (9) are not synonymous (Quirk et al. 1985: 14.36). There are also some constraints. The verbs listed above, (a–e), do not trigger NR when they are accompanied by intensifiers or modal auxiliaries (10–12).⁵ There also seems to be crosslinguistic variation in the class of neg-raising predicates (Jespersen 1917: 53; Gajewski 2007: 291–292).

⁵ Examples 8–12 are quoted from Quirk et al. 1985: 14.36.

- (8) I *didn't* assume that he knew me.
- (9) I assumed that he *didn't* know me.
- (10) I *can't believe* that they are married.
- (11) You *mustn't think* he's stupid.
- (12) I *wouldn't have imagined* that Sandra would be here.

Quirk et al. (1985: 14.36) point out that language users' intuitions differ as to what degree two sentences with differently placed negatives are synonymous. They give the following examples (13–16) with *likely* and *probable*. It is not clear whether (13) and (14) are equivalent in meaning. The difference between (15) and (16), in which the adjectives are intensified, is obvious.

- (13) It isn't *likely/probable* that oil prices will fall this year.
- (14) It is *likely/probable* that oil prices will not fall this year.
- (15) It isn't *very likely/probable* that oil prices will fall this year.
- (16) It is *very likely/probable* that oil prices will not fall this year.

2.2. Research on negative raising in Old English

Research into NR in English has mainly focused on PDE (e.g. Bublitz 1992; Collins & Postal 2014), whereas the earliest stages of NR have received considerably less attention. In fact, the question as to how early in the history of English NR first appears is controversial.

Traugott contends that there do not appear to be true examples of NR in OE. However, there are “some similar-looking constructions in contrastive constructions” (Traugott 1992: 270–271), of which she gives two examples (17 and 18).

- (17) **ac he ne com na to demenne** mancynn ... **ac to gehælenne.**
(ÆCHom I 359.132)⁶

‘but he did not come to judge mankind ... but to save.’

⁶ The short titles of the OE texts follow those in Healey & Venezky 1980. The PDE translations of the quotations are mine unless otherwise indicated. The PDE translation of the Latin passages of *Gregory's Dialogues* is by Zimmerman (1983).

- (18) **Ne cwæð he ðeah no ðæt ðæt he cwæð forðæmðe he gesinscipe tælde, ac forðæmðe he wolde ða sorga aweg adrifan ðisses middangeardes hieremonna mode ða ðe bioð aweaxene of ðæm gesinscipe.** (CP 51.401.11)

‘yet he did not say so because he blamed marriage, but because he wished to expel from the minds of his subjects the cares which grow out of marriage.’
(Translation Sweet 1958)

Neither of these examples conforms to the characterization of classical NR for two reasons: the predicate verbs *cuman* and *cweþan* do not denote belief or assumption, and there is no finite nominal clause introduced by *ðæt(te)* in either instance. The element *ðæt*, which occurs twice in example (18), is the object of the verbal phrase *ne cwæð* in the clause *ne cwæð he ðeah no ðæt*; in the relative clause *ðæt he cwæð* it is a pronoun. Fischer (1999: 60–61) considers (17) and (18) to be cases of Negative Concord rather than NR.

Fischer (1999: 85–86) agrees with Traugott as she concludes that we do not have evidence for NR in OE. She names two syntactic reasons for its absence in OE: (i) the presence of the subjunctive, which fulfils a similar pragmatic role as NR with verbs typically used to convey likelihood and other modalities that a certain event will take place, and (ii) the presence of multiple negation.

As distinct from these conclusions, Rissanen (1999: 272–273) maintains that the movement of the negative element from the nominal clause to the matrix clause, as exemplified by ‘I *don’t* think that Bill likes Mary’, and ‘I think that Bill *doesn’t* like Mary’, goes back to Old English. However, he does not give any OE examples of such constructions. He also states that NR is less common in Early Modern English than in Present-Day English.

Mazzon (2004: 40) refers to three examples (19–21) in which the negative element is placed in the matrix clause, and one example (22) in which the governing clause is the subordinate causal clause *forþon þe he nolde*. The verbs in the examples represent the categories of (a) opinion (*wenan*, *gelyfan*) and (e) volition/ judgement (*willan*) in Horn’s classification above. The scope of negation extends over clause boundaries in each case. She concludes “that there are indeed a few cases of Neg-Raising in OE, although the construction may well have become more popular only in ME” (Mazzon 2004: 40).

- (19) **Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, þæt ænig mon atellan mæge ealne þone demm.** (Or 2 8.52.6)

‘I do not think,’ said Orosius, ‘that anyone could record all the damage’
(Translation based on Godden 2016)

- (20) Witodlice, **he nolde þæt hit ænig man witen sceolde**
(LS 29 (Nicholas) 83)

‘indeed he did not want that any man should know ...’

- (21) **Ne gelyfe ic na þæt hyt æfre geweorðe** (Solil 1 47.19)

‘I do not believe that it would ever happen.’

- (22) **forþon þe he nolde þæt ænig ortrywnes wære emb his æriste.**
(HomS 26 (BIHom 7 136))

‘because he did not want that there would be any distrust concerning his resurrection.’

The verb *gemunan* ‘remember’, which Mazzon includes in her list of examples of NR in OE, does not belong to the same category of verbs indicating epistemological stance or mental state as, for example, *want*, *think* and *believe* (see Karttunen 1971: 340). Horn (2001: 323) does not include *remember* in his list of verbs that allow NR either. There are also instances in which the negative element remains in the nominal clause.

Example (23) from *Orosius*, may be compared with example (19), which comes from the same text.

- (23) **Ic wene, cwæð Orosius, þæt nan wis mon ne sie, ...** . (Or 2 1.35.28)

‘I think,’ said Orosius, ‘that there is no wise man, ...’

In such constructions, the placement of the negative element in the nominal clause may be regarded as basic, whereas constructions like the one in example (19), in which the negative element is placed in the matrix clause, are considered derived. The question why there are two types of constructions, those with NR and those in which NR is avoided, calls for a closer examination.

3. Data and method

The data for this study has been drawn from the prose part of the online database of *The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC).⁷ The database comprises a copy of each text surviving in Old English; in some cases, more than one copy is

⁷ Eds. Antonette diPaolo Healey with John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang. The current version was released in 2009.

included. The texts of the prose part cover the OE period before the year 1150 AD. The size of this part of DOEC is 2 128 781 words of Old English; the number of foreign words is 52 038.

The data of the article consist of complex sentences with a negated form of *gelyfan*, *wenan*, *willan* and *þyncan* in the matrix clause in DOEC. Examples of NR with each of these verbs are included in the descriptive part of the article. The data also contain the occurrences of these verbs in complex sentences in which the negation is placed in the nominal clause.

Contrastive constructions, such as examples (24) and (25), are excluded. Neither of them is considered an instance of NR in this article. In example (24), in which the verb form *wenað* occurs in both parts of the coordinated construction, the negator *ne* could not be placed in the nominal clause, cf. **Hi wenað þæt þæt god wyrð ne sie, ac hi wenað þæt hio sie earmlico*. In example (25), and also in GD(C) 10.76.14, the second clause is elliptical; cf. the possible non-ellipted version: *ac ic wene þæt he wæs gelustfullod on þæs bisceopes tælinge*.

- (24) **Ne wenað hi no þæt þæt god wyrð sie**, ac wenað þæt hio sie earmlico
(Bo 40.138.3),

‘They do not deem it good fate, but they deem it miserable.’

- 25) Soðlice **ne wene ic na, þæt þes wer wære gelustfullod on arfæstnysse weorke** ac on þæs bisceopes tælinge. (GD(H) 10.76.14),

‘Truly I do not think that this man was pleased with the work of mercy but with the reproach of the bishop.’

Quirk et al. (1985: 14.36) consider NR “an unclear phenomenon”. They point out that our “intuitions may differ as to whether and to what degree two sentences with differently placed negatives are synonymous” (ibid.). Fischer (1999: 55–57) also considers NR a diffuse topic and maintains that only “the context (and in spoken language the differences in intonation) can decide what is what”. The phenomenon becomes more diffuse when it is studied diachronically. We cannot benefit from native informants, or determine with any certainty the intonation patterns and degree of stress in OE prose (Mitchell 1985: §315; Mitchell 2004: §42; Hiltunen 2016: 92). However, there are instances in which our intuitions may agree on the interpretation of a complex sentence with matrix clause negation. The interpretation becomes less ambiguous in cases in which the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular. Bublitz (1992: 568), whose interest is mainly related to the verb *think*, regards the constructions in which the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular as the clearest instances of NR in PDE. He maintains

that the position of the negative item in the immediate vicinity of the first person personal pronoun constitutes a clear linkage between the negation and the speaker's assumptions and attitudes. Fischer agrees, stating that "from the pragmatic point of view" the weak reading is likely in constructions in which the subject of the matrix clause is in the first person singular (Fischer 1999: 57). In the case of reported speech, i.e. in cases in which the first person pronoun is replaced by a second or third person pronoun, both readings, strong and weak, "are presumably equally likely to occur" (Fischer 1999: 57; see also Bublitz 1992: 568f.). Since the clearest and most frequent instances of NR in Old English are encountered with the verb *wenan*, which often occurs in the present indicative with the first person subject, I have based the quantitative part of my article on the occurrences of such forms.

The analysis of the data is based on two factors, which may provide an explanation for the existence of NR in OE prose. The factors, which stem from the discussion above, are the following: (i) the role of pragmatic considerations, and (ii) the role of the source text. The discussion above indicates that a description of NR calls for an examination in which grammatical and pragmatic approaches complement each other. Since several of the prose texts are Latin-based, the influence of the source on OE translations also has to be considered. However, no systematic comparisons between the OE translation and the source have been made.

4. *Negative raising associated with the verb wenan*

The findings of the analysis are presented in Table 1. The table indicates that there are five texts with fourteen examples of complex sentences in which the negation is placed in the matrix clause with the first person personal pronoun as subject and the present tense singular of the verb *wenan*, as opposed to eight instances in which the negation takes its logical place in the nominal clause. They represent early West Saxon, with the exception of Gregory's *Dialogues*, MS C, which, in addition to displaying early West Saxon dialect features "clearly shows Mercian elements ascribable to Wærferth's original version", and Gregory's *Dialogues*, MS H, which is a late OE text, basically West Saxon, but with admixture of another dialect coded in the *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* as "unknown" (Kahlas-Tarkka, Kilpiö & Österman 1993: 28). No examples of complex sentences in which the negation is placed in the matrix clause with the first person personal pronoun and the present tense singular of the verb *wenan* are found in the other texts. However, the data of this article also contain eleven complex sentences with the first person singular indicative of *wenan* in various texts, mostly from the late West Saxon period, in which the negative element preceding the verb *wenan* is only found in the nominal clause. Examples of these instances, which are not included in Table 1, are discussed separately.

Table 1. Instances of NR and non-NR with *wenan* in pres.ind. 1st p sg

Text	Placement of the negative element			
	matrix clause	Fq/100 000 words	nominal clause	Fq/100 000 words
Orosius	4	7.8	1	2.1
Boethius	1	2.1	2	4.2
Soliloquies	2	12.3	1	6.2
GD MS C	5	5.5	3	3.3
GD MS H	2	7.9	1	4.0
Total	14		8	

The numbers are low in each of the columns of Table 1, which implies that comparisons have to be made with caution. The numbers indicate that, with the exception of the OE *Boethius*, the proportion of matrix clause negation to constructions with nominal clause negation is higher in each of these texts. The occurrences indicate that the frequencies of NR in these texts are relatively low. However, the ratios clearly illustrate the difference of these five texts from the other prose material in which NR with *wenan* in the present indicative first person singular is not found.

The five texts included in Table 1 share at least two characteristics: (i) They are based on Latin source texts,⁸ and, (ii) with the exception of *Orosius*, they are made up of dialogues, a form of presentation which is known from various dialogues by the Greek philosopher Plato (Hamilton & Huntington 1961). I have chosen these commonalities as a point of departure in my attempt to find an explanation for the distribution of these two kinds of construction in the data.

The OE *Orosius* is a translation of Paulus Orosius' *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, written at the request of Saint Augustine to demonstrate how Christianity had improved the living conditions in the world (VanderBilt 1998: 378). Occasionally, this text has been included in the inventory of King Alfred's translations, but by referring to various studies of syntax and vocabulary, Bately removes it from the list of undoubted works by Alfred (Bately 2000: 5). She

⁸ The manuscripts of these texts are much younger. Thus, *Consolation of Philosophy* MS C, British Library OthoA. vi., dates to the 10th century (Gneuss & Lapidge 2015 s. x; Godden & Irvine 2009a: 18), and MS B, Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 180, goes back to the late 11th century (Gneuss & Lapidge 2015 s. xi/xii., Godden & Irvine 2009: 12–13). The OE *Orosius*, Cambridge, Trinity College O 4.34, dates to the 11th century (Gneuss & Lapidge 2015 s. xi/xii). King Alfred's translation of St. Augustine's *Soliloquia*, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, is dated to the 12th century (BL s. xii^{med}; Ker s. xii^{med}). There are two versions of Gregory's *Dialogues*. The translation found in MS C was made about 890 by Bishop Wærferth of Worcester, at the instigation of Alfred the Great (Gardner 2010: xxiv), while the revision of the translation, MS H, which covers the first two books of the original, took place between 950 and 1050, probably in Worcester, by an anonymous scribe (Yerkes 1982: 10). Both manuscripts are dated to the mid-11th century (Gneuss & Lapidge 2015 s. xi¹).

concludes that the OE *Orosius* “acquired its present form ... as a result of dictation by a Welshman of Latin education to a scribe with an Anglo-Saxon background” (Bately 1984: 304). Liggins (1986: 268) maintains that there might have been more than one scribe by stating that there “is nothing inherently unlikely in the view that more than one author shared in the translation of the historical books of Orosius”.

The OE translation of *Orosius* is not close. The translator treats the work freely, omitting much, but occasionally also inventing events and even contradicting the source (Bately 2000: 17–18). Thus, the OE translation diverges from the source in many respects so much so that comparisons between the Latin version and the translation can hardly be made.

The phrase *ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, þæt*, which is a kind of formula that opens a complex sentence four times in the OE version, is an early example of NR in OE. The formula is an addition made by the unknown translator. The construction follows the principle of placing the negative element as early as possible in a clause (Jespersen 1917: 5).

In examples (26–29), the negated verb form occurs as the first element in the main clause. The negative element placed in the immediate vicinity of the first person personal pronoun constitutes a clear linkage between the negation and the speaker’s assumptions and attitude towards what is stated in the second part of the complex sentence (Bublitz 1992: 568). The verb of the nominal clause is in the subjunctive.

- (26) **Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, þæt ænig mon atellan mæge ealne þone demm** þe Romanum æt þæm cirre gedon wearð. (Or 2 8.52.6)

‘I do not think,’ said Orosius, ‘that anyone could record all the damage done to the Romans at that time.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)⁹

- (27) **Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, nu ic longe spell hæbbe to secgenne, þæt ic hie on þisse bec geendian mæge; ac ic oþere anginnan sceal.** (Or 2 8.53.4)

‘I do not think,’ said Orosius, ‘since I have a long story to tell, that I can finish it in this book, but instead I will begin another one.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)

- (28) **Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, ðæt ænige twegen latteowas emnar gefuhten.** (Or 3 1.54.20)

‘I do not think,’ said Orosius, ‘that any other pair of generals have been more equally matched.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)

⁹ ‘non enim facile aliquis similem ruinam Romanae militiae recenseret,’ – “It would not be easy to recall a similar disaster to a Roman army.” (Translation Raymond 1936: 105)

- (29) **Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, þæt ænig wære þe þæt atellan mehte þæt on ðæm gefeohte gefeoll.** (Or 3 11.81.26)

‘I do not think,’ said Orosius, ‘that there is anyone who could count those who fell in that battle.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)

The transfer of the negative element leftwards in a sentence is related to the ordering and processing of information, i.e. the distribution of theme and rheme in the sentence (Bublitz 1992: 567–568). By placing the negation in sentence initial position, Orosius manages to introduce the fact that his opinion deviates “from the expected assumption well ahead of supplying in rhematic position the (delayed) information which constitutes the scope of the negation” (Bublitz 1992: 567–568). Mazzon (2004: 9) points out that NR has an interpretational function in that “it decreases the force or certainty of the expression, thus leaving more room for the interlocutor’s range of opinions”. In this context, the interlocutor is the reader or possibly the audience if the text was read aloud. By using the tag *cwæð Orosius* the OE author succeeds in retaining the voice of the Roman historian in the translation.

There is less uncertainty about Orosius’ opinion in the following example (30) than in the instances quoted above. The construction without NR, which adapts the source, retains the negation in the nominal clause in which the negation is strengthened by the pronoun *nan* ‘no’ used adjectivally. If the negation is moved to the matrix clause, the pronoun *ne+an* ‘not one’ must in the following hypothetical version be replaced by *ænig* ‘any’, i.e. *Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, þæt ænig wis mon sie*.

- (30) **Ic wene, cwæð Orosius, þæt nan wis mon ne sie,** buton he genoh geare wite þætte God þone ærestan monn ryhtne & godne gesceop, & eal monncynn mid him. (Or 2 1.35.28) ¹⁰

‘I think,’ said Orosius, ‘that there is no wise man except that he knows who knows well enough that God created the first man just and virtuous, and all mankind through him.’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)

Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine are fairly free translations by King Alfred, who reads the source in the light of his own learning and experience, making changes and additions in the text (Gatch 1986: 17–18). His aim is to render the sense rather than the letter. Both translations differ from their sources so much that Batley suggests ‘transformation’ as a more appropriate term than translation (Batley 2000: 13).

¹⁰ *Neminem iam esse hominum arbitror, quem latere possit, quia hominem in hoc mundo Deus fecerit.*

– ‘There is no person living today, I think, who does not acknowledge that God created man in this world.’ (Translation Raymond 1936: 72)

There are two instances of NR, (31) and (32), in the OE version of the *Soliloquies*. Both of them are examples of additions in the translation made by King Alfred.¹¹ The construction is very similar to that of examples (26–29) above. Here again, the verb of the nominal clause is in the subjunctive.

- (31) ac ic þe wolde acsian hweðer þu wene þæt þu mæge habban eall þæt ðet þu nu hæfst butan þines hlafordes freondscype.

Ða cwæð ic: **ne wene ic þæt ænig man si swa dysig** það <he> þæs wene.
(Solil 1 24.16)

‘But I would ask you whether you think that you can have all that you now have without your lord’s friendship.’

‘Then I say: I do not think that anyone is so foolish to think so.’ (Translation based on Hargrove 1904)

- (32) Ac ic ondrede þæt hyt beo on þære weorulde swa hyt her byt on cildum.
Ne wene ic na þæt þæt lyf þær beo butan gewitte þe ma þe hyt hær byð on cildum; þonne byð þær forlytlu wynsumnes æt þam lyfe.

Ða cwæð heo: Ic gehere nu hwæt þu woldest witan. (Solil 2 64.31–65.3)

‘But I fear that it shall be in that world as it is here with children.’

‘I do not suppose that the life there shall be without reason, and more than it is here in children; in that case there would be too little appeal in that life.’
(Translation based on Hargrove 1904)

The instances (26–32) quoted above are examples of changes and additions to the text made by the OE translator. Example (33) is different since it is a translation of a passage in the source. In both source and translation, the negation is placed in the matrix clause.

- (33) ða wundrode he & cwæð: Nis nanwuht þe mæge oððe wille swa heaum Gode wiðcweðan. ða cwæð ic: **Ne wene ic þæt ænig wuht sie** ðe wið winne, buton ðæt wit ær spræcon. (Bo 35.98.18)¹²

¹¹ Hargrove (1904) marks out the passages that do not occur in the source in italics. His presentation illustrates in a graphic way the numerous changes made by King Alfred in the OE version of the *Soliloquies*.

¹² Non est igitur aliquid quod summo huic bono vel velit vel possit obsistere. – Non, inquam, arbitror.

- ‘Therefore there is nothing which either would or could resist this, the highest good?’ ‘I think not,’ I said.’ (Stewart et al. 1973: 302–303).

‘Then he wondered and said: Is there nothing that could or would wish to resist so high a good?’

‘I do not think that there is any being that might resist apart from what we said before.’ (Translation Godden & Irvine 2009)

The negator is placed in the nominal clause in example (34), Bo 38.122.12, and also in (35), which is an addition made by King Alfred. Here the negator could be moved to the matrix clause, cf. *ne wene ic þæt ænig man si to þam dysig* as in example (31).

- (34) **Ic <wene> ðeah þæt ðu ne forstande nu get** hwæt ic þe to cweðe.
(Bo 20.47.10)¹³

‘I think however that you do not yet understand what I am saying to you.’
(Translation Godden & Irvine 2009)

- (35) Hwæt, **ic wene þæt nan man ne si to þam dysig** þæt <he> forði <unrotsige>
þeah he ne mage þas sunnan, þe we lichamlicum eagum onlociað, eallunga
geseon and ongytan swilce swilce heo is. (Solil 1 32.6)

‘Behold! I suppose that no one is so foolish that he becomes sorrowful because he can not see and understand, just as it is, the sun which we look at with corporeal eyes.’ (Translation based on Hargrove 1904)

Half of the occurrences of NR included in Table 1 come from the two versions of Gregory’s *Dialogues*. Bately (2000: 14) maintains that Wærferth follows the source most faithfully in his translation, and that he normally respects and preserves the distinctive nature of OE prose syntax, “at the same time revealing a certain sophistication. And the result can be highly effective prose”.

The construction *ne wene ic na/no* occurs six times in a matrix clause in the material included in Table 1. Wærferth’s translation is not close, but there are sentences in which the source may have influenced the ordering of sentence elements in OE, such as examples (36) and (37), in which the constructions of the source and the OE translation are syntactically different, but similar in that the negation is placed in the matrix clause in both the source text and the OE translation. A variant in which the negation remains in the nominal clause, i.e. *ic eac wene, Petrus, þæt þæt ne sy to forswigenne*, and *ic wene, þæt ne si to forswigienne*

¹³ Nondum forte quid loquar intellegis. ‘Perhaps you do not yet understand what I am saying.’ (Stewart et al. 1973: 224–225).

þæt wundor, would have been possible for the OE translator. Contrary to the Latin source, the negator *ne* occurs in the nominal clause in example (38).

- (36) **Ne wene ic eac, Petrus, þæt þæt sy to forswigenne**, þe ic geman þæt gedon wæs nu for þrym gærum in minum mynstre. (GD Pref and 4 (C) 57.344.3)¹⁴

‘Likewise I do not think, Peter, that what I remember was done three years ago in my monastery must be passed over in silence.’

- (37) Gregorius him andswarode: **ne wene ic na, þæt si to forswigienne þæt wundor**, þe se ælmihtiga God wæs geeadmodad, þæt he gecyþde ofer Maximianum his þeowan. (GD 3 (C) 36.248.10)¹⁵

‘Gregorius answered him: I do not think that that miracle should be passed over in silence that almighty God thought worthy to perform on his servant Maximianus.’

- (38) Eac ic **wene, þæt þis ne sy to forswygienne (þæt ne sy na to forsuwienne** þæt; MS H), þæt ic ongæt fram þam æpelan were Aptonio, he hit me sæde. (GD 2 (C) 26.157.2)¹⁶

‘Likewise, I must not here pass over with silence that which I had by relation of the honourable man, Aponius, who told it to me.’

In the following instance (39), the emphatic phrase *nullo modo aestimo* of the source becomes the double negative construction *ne wene ic no*, placed in the matrix clause in both OE versions.

- (39) & swa þeh **ne wene ic no, þæt me sy an ðæra spella to forlætanne [þæt sy to forlætanne an þara spella; MS H]**, þe me fram þam ylcan breþer gesægd is. (GD 1 (C) 3.23.17)¹⁷

¹⁴ Sed neque hoc silendum existimo, quod actum in meo monasterio ante hoc triennium reminiscor. (Moricca 317) – ‘I must not forget to add an incident that occurred in my monastery three years ago.’

¹⁵ Neque hoc silendum puto, quod omnipotens Deus super Maximianum, ... dignatus est monstrare. miraculum. (Moricca 216) – ‘I must not forget to mention the miracle with which almighty God favoured His servant Maximian.’

¹⁶ Sed neque hoc silendum puto, quod inlustri viro Aptonio narrante cognovi. (Moricca 117) – ‘I must tell you now of an event I got to know by relation of the distinguished Anthony.’

¹⁷ sed unum dicam, quod ab eo narratum praetereundum nullo modo aestimo’ (Moricca 25) – ‘There is, however, one told by him that I must not pass over in silence.’

‘and however, I do not think that one of the stories that was told me by the same brother should be omitted.’

There are also differences between the two OE manuscripts, as illustrated by (40) and (41). The emphatic phrase *nænige þinga* ‘not at all, in no wise’,¹⁸ which translates Latin *nequaquam*, occurs in the nominal clause in MS C; in MS H the negation is placed in the matrix clause.

- (40) þonne wene ic hwæpre, þætte wundra & mægnu oððe nænige þinga fram heom gewordene wæron, oððe <hig> oð þis forswigede wæron.
(GDPref 1 (C) 41.7.12)¹⁹

‘I think, however, that either no wonders and miracles were performed by them, or that they were passed until now in silence.’

- (41) swa þeah ne wene ic na, þæt ænige wundra oþþe mægenu fram him gewordene wæron, oþþe hi wæron oþ þis forswigode. (GD(H) 41.7.11)

The first part of the following quotation (42), *ne wene ic na, Petrus, þæt...*, is Wærferth’s addition, which is similar to the additions made by the unknown scribe in the translation of Orosius (examples 26–29 above). Occasionally, the governing clause is a subordinate clause (example 43).

- (42) Ne wene ic na, Petrus, þæt þæt sy to helane ... (GDPref and 4 (C) 14.278.22)²⁰

‘I do not think, Peter, that this should be concealed.’

- (43) Petrus cwæð: ..., þæt ic ne wene nu, þæt ænige þissara gesewenlicra wisena sin swa ic wende eallinga ær be þam ungesewenlican þinge.
(GDPref and 4 (C) 6.270.17)²¹

¹⁸ *nænige* < *ne* + *ænige* ‘not any’; for other translations of *nequaquam*, see Timmer 1935: 86.

¹⁹ *signa tamen atque virtutes aut ab eis nequaquam factas exaestimo.* (Moricca 15) – ‘but to my knowledge either no signs or miracles have been performed by any of them or’

²⁰ *Qua re neque hoc sileam.* (Moricca 244) – ‘That is why I should not be silent about this matter.’ (My translation)

²¹ *Nulla, ut opinor, huic allegationi ratio obsistit, in qua et ex rebus visibilibus cogimur credere, quod non videmus* (Moricca 239) – ‘In my opinion, no objections can be brought against these arguments of yours which compel us to believe in the invisible world with evidence taken from the visible.’

‘Peter said: I confess to you that I do not now think that any of these visible things would be as I previously thought about the invisible thing.’

The examples included in Table 1 provide evidence of NR in OE, but the table does not answer the question: What explains the occurrences of this phenomenon in these early West Saxon texts and the two manuscripts of Gregory’s *Dialogues*? No simple answer can be given. It seems that the placement of the negative element in the matrix clause is not due to one single factor, but to the interplay of various factors, such as source, and text type.

The early scribes faced difficulties in translating Latin with its long textual history into a language with mainly oral culture before the advent of literacy. Very often the translator’s aim was to render the sense rather than the letter. In the passages quoted above, Latin influence is mainly seen in the ordering of clauses in complex sentences, especially in Gregory’s *Dialogues*. It is very likely that the scribe also resorted to oral culture and the poetic idiom of Old English in making changes and additions in the translation. This is illustrated by the six instances of the phrases *ne wene ic þæt* or *ne wene ic na þæt* in *Orosius* and *Soliloquies*, which do not occur in the source texts. Thus, the passages quoted above are marked by interaction of both the source language and the vernacular.

Four of the texts included in Table 1 consist of dialogues, which explains the use of numerous first person singular forms in them. Two of the dialogues are internal. Boethius’ *De consolazione philosophiae* is written in the form of an imaginary dialogue between Boethius himself and Lady Philosophy (Kenny 2007: 19–23). The *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine is also an inner dialogue in which the two characters, Augustine and Reason, search for truth and the true nature of the soul (Kenny 2007: 1–2). Gregory’s *Dialogues* are different. They take place between Gregory and Peter, an interlocutor who was Gregory’s companion in the study of sacred texts (Gardner 2010: 3).

In these dialogues, whether they are internal or between two interlocutors, the participants search for answers to fundamental questions related to life and humankind. There are no exhaustive answers, for the path to the truth is paved with endless questioning. It is crucial that the dialogues do not break down. Therefore, the participants show each other respect. In conversation, NR ‘softens the blow’ which might be caused by a straightforward statement of opinion, especially if it is contrary to the addressee’s beliefs or expectations (Bublitz 1992: 559–562; Mazzon 2004: 40), as, for instance, in examples (31) and (32) from the *Soliloquies*. It seems that in written discourse text type partly explains the occurrence of NR.

In my corpus there are eleven late West Saxon texts, in which the verb *wenan* occurs in the matrix clause with the first person personal pronoun and the present

tense singular, and in which the negator is placed in the nominal clause.²² Since there are no examples of NR in these late texts, they are not included in Table 1. The negator *ne*, which could have been placed in the matrix clause in example (44), i.e. *Ne wene ic, la uplendisca preost, þæt þu wite*, as, for instance, in example (36) from Gregory's *Dialogues*, remains in its logical place in the nominal clause. The other instances include Gen 20.11, which adapts the source (45), and example (46), which renders Romans 8: 18 from the Bible, ÆLS (Eugenia) 160, ÆIntSig 21.112, and ÆCHom I 509.79.

- (44) **Ic wene, la uplendisca preost, þæt þu nyte hwæt beo <atomos>**
(ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge) 2.3.69)

'I think, oh rural priest, that you do not know what an atom is.'

- (45) Abraham him cwæð to: **Ic wene þæt Godes ege ne sy on þisre stowe & þæt**
hi wyllað me ofslean for mines wifes ðingon. (Gen 20.11)²³

'Abraham said to him: I think that there is no fear of God in this place, and that they will kill me because of my wife.'

- (46) **Ic wene soðlice, þæt ne synd na emlice þissere tide þrowunga þam**
towearðum wuldre. (ÆHomM 5 (Ass 6) 106)²⁴

'I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory about to be revealed to us.'

Complex sentences with second or third person subjects in the matrix clause differ from those with a first person subject, because they may have two readings, strong and weak. Bublitz (1992: 568) sums up by stating that in most cases in "which the first person pronoun is replaced by a second or third person pronoun, utterances with main clause negation cease to be variants and weak paraphrases of their respective

²² Instances which contain the negator *næfre* or more than one negative element in the nominal clause, as in *Ic wene þæt þu ne forleosa naðor ne hi ne me* (ÆLS (Julian & Basilissa) 325), 'I think that you will not lose either her or me', are not included. Similarly, constructions in which the negative element cannot be moved to the matrix clause without changes in the clause structure are excluded.

²³ Respondit Abraham cogitavi mecum dicens forsitan non est timor Dei in loco isto et interficient me propter uxorem meam. – Abraham answered: "I pondered in my mind saying: 'perhaps there is no fear of God in this place, and they will kill me because of my wife.'"

²⁴ Existimo enim, quod non sunt condignae passionēs huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis. – For I consider that the sufferings of this time are not worth comparing with the glory that will be revealed in us.

utterances with subordinate clause negation”. In my corpus, there are also instances of complex sentences with second or third person subject in the matrix clause. Example (47) and (48) may be read as instances of NR with a third person subject.

- (47) **Ne wende na Ezechias Israhela kyning ðæt he gesyngade**, ða he lædde
ða ællðeodgan ærenddracan on his maðmhus, & him geiewde his goldhord.
(CP 4.39.2)²⁵

‘Hezekiah, king of Israel, did not think that he sinned when he led the foreign ambassadors into his treasure and showed them his treasures.’ (Translation Sweet 1958)

- (48) for þon Romane wæron swa forhte & swa æmode, **þæt hie ne wendon þæt hie þa burg bewerian mehton**. (Or 3 4.57.23)

‘since the Romans were so terrified and lacking in courage that they did not think that they could defend the city’ (Translation based on Godden 2016)

Unlike the examples above, the following instances cannot be regarded as variants of their respective counterparts with nominal clause negation. In other words, only a strong reading is possible in examples (49) and (50).

- (49) **Witodlice se mennisca wen ne wenep na, þæt synfulra manna sawla magon beon cwyldre ær þam dome**. (GDPref and 4 (C) 28.303.7)

‘Truly the human thought does not think that the souls of sinful men may be killed before doomsday.’

- (50) Ond eft swa herie ða ðe lytel god doð, **ðæt hi ne wenen ðæt hi genog don**.
(CP 60.453.34)

‘and again, praise those who do a little good, without letting them think they do enough.’ (Translation Sweet 1958)

²⁵ Neque enim peccare se Ezechias credidit, cum uenientibus ad se alienigenis cellas aromatum ostendit. – Nor did Hezekiah think that he was sinning when he showed his storerooms of spices to foreigners who came to visit him.

5. *Notes on Negative Raising associated with the verbs* *þyncan*, *gelyfan* and *willan* The data also contain the occurrences of the verbs *þyncan*, *gelyfan* and *willan* in complex sentences in DOEC. In this section, some general observations are made on these occurrences related to the conclusions regarding the verb *wenan* in the previous section. The discussion focuses on two kinds of factors related to NR, namely (i) the role of pragmatic considerations, and (ii) the role of the source text.

The verb *þyncan*, ‘seem, appear’, differs from the other two in that it is impersonal and is used with a dative of person, very often the first person singular, which functions in the same way as the subject in a personal construction (Ogura 1996: 19). It represents group (a) [perception] in Horn’s categorization, whereas the others represent the groups (a), [opinion] (*gelyfan*), and (e) [volition/ judgment] (*willan*).

The present tense of *þyncan* occurs with the first person pronoun in early West Saxon. The instances include examples (51) from Gregory’s *Dialogues*, and (52) from the *Soliloquies*, in which the passage is, again, an addition by the OE translator. In example (53) *þyncan* is used with the plural dative form *þæm monnum*. In each passage, the verb of the nominal clause is in the subjunctive.

- (51) **ne þynced me forþon, þæt us aht wipsæce & wipstande, þæt hit gelyfed beon ne mage, þæt seo hell sy under eorþan.** (GDPref and 4 (C) 44.333.9)²⁶

‘it does not seem to me that anything renounces or opposes our view that it may not be believed that hell is under the earth.’

- (52) **Þa cwæð heo: mæg man <hyt> ealles witan buton mid þam ingeþance? Ða cwæð ic: ne þincð me þæt ic swa hyt witan mæge swa swa ic wolde.** (Solil 1 19.8)²⁷

‘Then she said: Can one know otherwise than with the mind?’

‘Then I said: It does not seem to me that I may know it as I would like to.’

- (53) **Ne þincð þeah þæm monnum þæt hi auht mearrigen.** (Bo 24.55.22)

‘However, it does not seem to those people that they go wrong at all.’²⁸

²⁶ cum ergo ad solvendum librum nullus sub terra inventus dignus dicitur, quid obstit non video, ut sub terra esse infernus credatur (Moricca 302) – ‘Since, then, no one under the earth was found worthy to unseal the book, I see no reason why we should not believe that hell is under the earth.’

²⁷ R: Potestne aliter nosci? – A: Nullo modo. – ‘And can he not otherwise be known? – In no other way.’ (Translation Cleveland)

²⁸ The negated form of *þyncan* also occurs in the following contrastive construction from Ælfric’s *Lives of the Saints*: **Ne þincð me þæt þu spræce mid menniscra spræce**, ac swilce Godes engel sylf spræce þurh þe. (ÆLS (Cecilia) 171). – ‘It does not seem to me that

The spellings *nelle* < *ne+wille* (examples 54–56), and past tense form *nolde* < *ne+wolde* (examples 20 and 22), are contracted verb forms, in which the negative particle *ne* is attached to the stem of the verb *willan* (Campbell 2003: §265). These passages date from the late West Saxon period. The placement of the negation in the matrix clause has a softening effect in them. These constructions may be compared with the directives introduced by *ic wille*, in which the tone is different (examples 62 and 63).

- (54) **Nelle ic þæt þu geswice**, for þan þe ic sylf gearo eom witu to ðrowienne, for þam wuldorfullan drihtne. *ÆLS* (Vincent 110)

‘I do not wish that you should cease, because I myself am ready to suffer the torments for the sake of the glorious Lord.’

- (55) **Nelle ic þæt ðu wanige min wuldor for Gode <mine><gesælða>**, and þonne þu me witnast, þu bist sylf gewitnod. *ÆLS* (Vincent 112)

‘I do not wish that you diminish my glory before God and my felicities, and when you torment me you yourself are tormented.’

- (56) Ða cwæð he to him: **Nelle ic þæt ðu me to gyfe hyrsumie**.

‘Then he said to him: I do not wish that you serve me for nothing.’ (Gen 29.15)

The verb *gelyfan* occurs in constructions parallel to the examples given of the verb *wenan* above.²⁹ Examples (21), and (57–59) are considered instances of NR in this article. The texts represent both early and late West Saxon. For instance, in example (57) the non-raised version would also have been possible, i.e. *ic gelyfe þæt hyt [n]æfre ne geweorðe*, but the OE translator adapts the beginning of the passage to the source.

- (57) **Ne gelyfe ic na þæt hyt æfre geweorðe** þæt me nanwiht ne lyste þisse weorlde ara, buton an ðing gewirðe. (*Solil* 1 47.19)³⁰

you spoke with man’s speech, but as if God’s angel himself spoke through you.’ The form *spræce*, which is ambiguous (either indicative or subjunctive), is considered subjunctive both in the matrix and nominal clause in this example.

²⁹ For discussion on various approaches to the negated form of this verb in PDE, see Horn 2017: 153–155.

³⁰ Non enim puto posse mihi haec in summum venire contemptum, nisi videro illud in cuius comparatione ista sordescant. – ‘For I do not think it possible to arrive at that complete

‘I do not believe that it will ever be that I shall not yearn at all after this world’s honors, unless one thing happen.’ (Translation Hargrove 1904)

- (58) and **ic ne gelyfe þæt he to us cume.** (ÆLS (Martin) 762)

‘and I do not believe that he would come to us.’

- (59) **Ne gelyfað we swa þeh na, þæt ealle gecorene syn us wiðbrodene swa swiðe,** þæt þa yflan ane lifigan & wunian in þysum middangearde. (GDPref and 3 (C) 37.257.3)

‘Yet we do not believe that all the elected ones are taken out of the world to the extent that only the wicked remain and live in this world.’³¹

There are also occurrences of the non-raised variants of these verbs. In example (60), which is one of the numerous additions made by King Alfred in the *Soliloquies*, and in example (61) the negation is placed in the nominal clause. The third example (62) below is from Byrhtferth’s address to the reader in his *Manual*. Kohnen (2012: 242) points out that there is a clear sense of authority and superior power involved in the directive introduced by *ic wille*. The maker of the will also resorts to the same construction in example (63).

- (60) **Ac <me> þincð þæt se geleafa ne si on uncrum onwealde** þe me þe þæt þe wit þær secað, buton hine god unc forgyfe. (Solil 2 55.18)

‘But it seems to me that faith is not in our power, in such measure as we seek, unless God give it to us.’ (Translation based on Hargrove 1904)

- (61) **ac we gelyfað swaþeah þæt us alogen ne bið** þæt he cymð soðlice mid hys scinendum englum on þissere worulde geendunge us to demanne. (ÆHom 19 (43))

‘But we believe, however, that it is not denied for us that he truly comes with his radiant angels in the end of this word to judge us.’

- (62) **Ic wylle,** la rædere, **þæt þu ne forgyte** þæt ic þe nu secge, ac gemun ðu mid ecum gemynde. (ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge) 3.2.82)

contempt of these inferior things, until I shall have first beheld that in comparison with which they become vile.’ (Translation Cleveland)

³¹ nec tamen ita electos omnes subtrahi credimus, ut soli in mundo perversi remaneant. (Moricca 225) – ‘It is not our belief, however, that all the elect are taken out of this world, leaving only the perverse to continue on.’

‘O reader, I want you not to forget what I am saying, but retain it in your everlasting memory.’ (Translation Baker & Lapidge 1995)

- (63) **& ic wylle þa menn** þe ic mine bocland becweden hæbbe, **þæt hy hit ne asyllan of minum cynne ofer heora dæg.** (Ch 1507 (HarmD 11) (111))

‘I will that the persons to whom I have left in my will my bookland should not dispose of it outside my kindred after their life time.’

Examples (51–59) above show that the constructions with these three verbs are partly similar to the constructions with the verb *wenan*. The tendency to place the negated verb form in the matrix clause is strong in them. In some of them the source may have supported the construction of the translation. The distribution of the verbs in NR constructions varies. There seems to be no examples of the negated form of the verb *willan* with the first person singular in a matrix clause in early WS texts, nor does the verb *þyncan* occur in such constructions in late West Saxon, whereas *gelyfan* occurs both in the early and late texts. A detailed examination of NR with these verbs has to be postponed to a separate study.

6. Conclusion

The question how early in the history of English NR first appears has been a controversial issue. This article provides evidence of NR with four verbs in OE prose, and also shows that such instances are more numerous than has been assumed. The article consists of a descriptive and quantitative analysis of comprehensive data drawn from DOEC, which comprises a copy of each prose text surviving in Old English.

The quantitative part of the article indicates that the translators of four early West Saxon texts, and the manuscripts C and H of Gregory’s *Dialogues* could choose between two variants, namely nominal clause negation and matrix clause negation in a complex sentence with the first person singular present indicative of *wenan*. In the majority of instances their choice was matrix clause negation. This choice corresponds to a choice between two positions on the scale of certainty, a higher degree in the case of nominal clause negation, and a lower degree in the case of matrix clause negation. In the other texts, there are passages in which NR might have been used with the first person singular, but is actually avoided.

It seems that the placement of the negative element in the matrix clause is not due to one single factor, but to the interplay of several factors. In this article, the following two types of approaches turned out to be useful: (i) the role of pragmatic considerations, and (ii) the role of the source text.

The tendency to place the negative element first, or at any rate as soon as possible in a clause (Neg-First Principle), is common in any main clause in OE. This principle also applies to complex sentences in which the predicate is one of

the four verbs that may trigger NR. The transfer of the negative element leftwards in the sentence affects the distribution of theme and rheme in the sentence. In other words, it is related to the ordering and processing of information.

NR is also due to pragmatic factors. The placement of the negative element in the immediate vicinity of the subject, especially the first person personal pronoun, constitutes a clear linkage between the negation and the speaker's stance towards what is stated in the second part of a complex sentence. Four of the five texts on which the quantitative part is based are dialogues. Two of them are internal, in which the author and an imaginary companion plumb the mysteries of the human mind. The others are dialogues between two interlocutors. Text type explains the occurrences of numerous first person singular forms in dialogues in which there are no exhaustive answers to questions posed. Therefore, it is important for the dialogue to continue. By preferring matrix clause negation the participants can avoid straightforward statements of opinion, which, if they were contrary to the addressee's beliefs or expectations, might break off the exchange of views. In other words, NR is used as a hedge to lessen the impact of an opinion.

As to possible contact influence, it is admittedly true that the majority of the texts with examples of NR are translations from Latin. For example, all the passages in which the verb *wenan* occurs with the first person singular pronoun are Latin based. However, the translations are not close. In some instances, the source may have had an influence on the ordering of the clauses in the OE translations, but there are also passages which are additions to the OE text made by the translator. It is obvious that the source has not been the basis for the OE constructions.

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Part III. Discussion and conclusion

10. Discussion

In this thesis consisting of four research articles, the extension of the notion of negation to subclausal units opens up new perspectives on the study of negation in OE, which has so far mainly focused on the particle *ne* and sentential negation. In the article on negators in adverbial phrases (Article I), and the one on the four types of contrastive constructions (Article II), the focus is on constituent negation. The question how people respond in the negative in the OE period is also addressed (Article III). The fourth article shows that there are examples of negative raising in OE, and that their number is higher than has been assumed hitherto (Article IV). The thesis aims to show how a set of negative adverbs and prefixes vary in such constructions in Old English prose.

Variation among the negators and constructions may partly be explained by referring to grammatical (internal) factors, but can also be due to contextual-situational (external) factors, such as style, medium (written or spoken), text category and register (Rydén 1979: 12–13). Both kinds of variation occur in the articles of this thesis, in which the external factors are discussed under diachronic, diatopic, and genre-based variation. Occasionally, the patterns the author uses are unique among the texts studied. For example, Bede's use of the negator *nalles* in time adverbials reflects individual choices and translation technique, which points to idiolectal variation.

A study which is based on a corpus calls for detailed planning of the sample. The key concepts related to the selection of the corpus are sampling, representativeness and balance. An optimal sample of texts is of finite size and represents maximally the variety under examination (see Baker 2019: 169–170). In this thesis, the compilation of the select corpus of 19 texts, both prose and glosses, was conducted through purposive (non-random) sampling. This method means selecting categories or groups of items to be studied on the basis of their relevance to the research questions (Cohen et al. 2003: 102ff.). The corpus was planned in view of the various text types (genre-based variation), dialects (diatopic) and periods of OE (diachronic variation) following the structure of *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. The select corpus of 641,321 OE words is significantly larger and more versatile than the corpora used in the previous studies on OE negation from Rauert (1910) to LaBrum (1982) and the OE section of Mazzon's treatise (2004). In two of the articles the data are drawn from the prose part of DOEC (Article III and IV).

The purposive sampling technique is useful in exploratory research if the frequency of the phenomenon studied is high, as in the articles on negators in adverbial phrases and

contrastive constructions (Articles I and II). In a study which focuses on low-frequency words, such as *nese* and *nic*, or the verbs that can trigger NR (Articles III and IV), the examples must be searched one by one from DOEC. This is due to the fact that dialogues and conversations in which such words and constructions typically occur are scanty in OE texts.

Conclusions related to diatopic and diachronic variation have to be drawn with caution. The texts included in the corpus are not homogeneous, since they were copied by various hands in the course of a long period. For example, we do not know how much MS C of Gregory's *Dialogues*, on which our observations of Wærferth's language are based, has retained of its archetype. Comparison with the fragmentary MS O might give some answers. It is obvious that the process of copying has introduced changes in the copies of the texts in general. Our conclusions regarding the date and dialect of the texts are based on the existing copies of the manuscripts, which are considerably later than the original texts.

Ingham (2006: 244) states that our knowledge of the localization of OE texts is often problematic, since the texts have been copied and standardized by West Saxon scribes. He comes to the conclusion that even an attempt to "identify consistent Old English dialectal variation on the basis of the surviving Anglo-Saxon prose records is a hazardous undertaking". But there are also researchers such as Campbell (1959: §§5–6) and Crowley (1986: 102–103) whose stance on OE dialects is less categorical. In this thesis, the Anglian dialects are represented by the Mercian and Northumbrian versions of the *Gospel of St Matthew* and the *Vespasian Psalter*. They are interlinear glosses that hardly reflect the general language of the period. However, the inclusion of the glosses in the corpus makes the study of differences between the West Saxon and non-West Saxon gospels possible at least on the lexeme level. The short passage of the *Life of St. Chad*, which is Mercian, is also included. Ingham (2006: 245) considers *Chad* to be one of the few extant texts that were not rewritten by West Saxon scribes. Robertson includes a few Kentish documents in her collection of Anglo-Saxon charters, but they are of minor importance in this thesis. As to the diatopic variation, the scarcity of Anglian material makes the corpus skewed.

The aim of this thesis is not only to give examples of different constructions, but also to explain the variation among the negators in them. Therefore, the description of the findings is supplemented by quantitative data, which consist of frequencies (occurrences/1,000 words). and percentages. The method which combines the two approaches, qualitative and quantitative, makes comparisons among the constructions in texts of different sizes possible.

The combined method proved to be beneficial in providing answers to the research questions and in constructing comprehensive accounts of the use of negators in the data. For

example, the findings of the article on contrastive constructions indicate that, with the exclusion of the numerous instances of the adverb *nalles* in Bede's *History*, and also *nalles/næs* in *Cura Pastoralis*, the distribution of the negators *na* and *nalles* in such constructions, is mostly in agreement with Mitchell's (1985: §§1616–1617 & 1620) conclusions. But the results also show why such constructions are used and why they are more common in some texts than others. These are questions that have not been discussed in detail in previous studies on Old English negative constructions.

The analysis of the data indicates that negative contrastive constructions are mainly used in homilies as rhetorical means to emphasize the ideas that the author considers important. There are no examples of such use of negators in *De Temporibus Anni*, which is a scientific treatise, and their scarcity in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is understandable, since a chronicle is by definition “a historical account of events arranged in order of time usually without analysis or interpretation” (M-W s.v. *chronicle*).

Ælfric's use of repetitions and special rhetorical devices, such as anaphora and antimetabole in his writings, indicate that he was a master stylist. These rhetorical devices belonged to literary style, even if some simple forms of contrastive constructions, such as *he is abbod na bisceop*, may have been used in everyday conversations.

The preponderance of contrastive constructions in homilies and other texts, such as conversations between a master and his disciple, which are intended to influence people, point to genre-based variation. The same type of variation also explains the numerous instances of litotes-type adverbials, such as *unfeorr fram heora huse* and *nales æfter micelre tide* in Gregory's *Dialogues* and Bede's *History*, both of which are included in the prototypical text category of non-imaginative narration in HC. In these texts, such constructions also point to language contact through translation. It seems that the OE translators considered the *negatio contrarii* type of expressions of the source texts as a rhetorical means worth retaining in their translations. These adverbials are stylistically marked and are used as embellishments.

The findings of the article on NR (Article IV) suggest that the variation between matrix clause negation and nominal clause negation with the verbs *gelyfan*, *þyncan*, *wenan* and *willan* in a complex sentence is due to pragmatic factors. Typically, such constructions occur in dialogues, both internal and external. The instances in which the position of the negative item in the immediate vicinity of the present indicative first person personal pronoun constitutes a close linkage between the negation and the speaker's assumptions and attitudes are interpreted as examples of NR in this article. Negative raising is probably used as a hedge

to lessen the impact of an opinion in OE. In some cases the Latin source may have influenced the ordering of the clauses in the translation, but there are no examples of close translations.

A sample which has been selected through purposive sampling does not produce results that are generalizable in the same sense as a sample which is based on a random method. However, Yin (2003: 10f.) refers to analytic generalization, which means generalization from the results of the analysis to the theory of the phenomenon being studied. Thus, the interpretation of the results of a qualitative study like this one may permit the researcher to draw conclusions that have a wider applicability than the sample that he has focused on. It seems that the central role of genre-based variation, and especially the prototypical text categories in explaining much of the variation among the constructions studied in adverbial phrases and contrastive constructions is one of the results that can be applied to various studies on OE constructions.

11. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to uncover factors that explain the variation among the special negators in adverbial phrases, contrastive constructions, and constructions in which negators are used independently. The aim was also to show evidence of transfer of negation from the nominal clause to the matrix clause with four verbs expressing thinking and assumption. These subject areas were addressed in four articles.

The aim of article (I) was to answer the question how the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, *næs* and the prefix *un-* vary in the prose and glosses in litotes-type adverbials, such as ‘not after a long time’ and ‘not far from’. The results indicate that the negator in such constructions is mainly the adverb *naht*, but occasionally the adverb *nalles* and the prefix *un-* also occur. Patterns in which the negator is an adverb are recorded in West Saxon texts with non-WS elements, whereas patterns introduced by the prefix *un-*, or some of the approximate negators, are recorded both in WS and non-WS texts. The occurrences of *nalles* in Bede’s *History* suggest idiolectal variation. Litotes-type adverbials, which mainly occur in narrative texts, point to language contact through translation.

Article (II) focused on four types of contrastive constructions. The aim of the article was to find out how the special negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles* and *næs* vary in contrastive constructions in the prose and glosses. The distribution of the negators points to diachronic variation. In early WS, the negator in such constructions is either *nalles* or *næs*, less frequently *na*, while in late WS *na* is preferred. Contrastive constructions are mainly used as

rhetorical means to emphasize what the author considers important, especially in homilies and other texts that are meant to influence the audience. In some early WS texts, the constructions closely follow the Latin source.

The negators *na*, *naht*, *nalles*, and *næs* are typically used to negate a constituent other than a finite verb. However, their distribution differs in that *naht*, which occurs frequently in adverbial phrases, is not employed in contrastive constructions, while *næs*, which is used in contrastive constructions, does not occur in adverbial phrases of time or place.

The aim of article (III) was to uncover how the negators *na*, *nateshwon*, *nese* and *nic* vary in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions, and how they function as reaction signals to express denial and refusal in OE prose. The results indicate that *nese* is used in answers to both affirmative and negative polar questions. Occasionally, it is an interjection that occurs as a reaction signal. *Nic* occurs a few times as an answer word to polar questions in which a response in the first person singular is expected. *Na*, which has given PDE ‘no’ in answers, occurs in responses to polar questions and in polar-alternative questions.

The aim of article (IV) was to answer the question how the placement of the negative particle *ne* varies with certain verbs denoting belief and assumption in complex sentences where the complement of the matrix clause is a finite nominal clause introduced by *þæt(te)* ‘that’. The results show evidence of NR in OE prose; in complex sentences with the verb *wenan* in the present indicative with the first person subject, the negator occurs more often in the matrix clause than in the nominal clause. The transfer of the negative element from the subordinate clause to the matrix clause typically occurs in dialogues, in which it seems to be used as a hedge to diminish the face-threatening potential of the speaker’s words. Thus, the findings suggest that the variation between matrix clause negation and nominal clause negation with four verbs denoting thinking and assumption in a complex sentence is due to pragmatic factors.

My approach, which combines descriptive and quantitative analysis of data drawn from a sufficiently large corpus, opens up new perspectives on the study of negation in Old English. There is, of course, room for more work: the article on contrastive constructions could be extended to cover the additive type, *not only...but also*, and constructions in which the contrasted pair consists of clauses. In general, more research should be focused on constituent negation. My conclusions regarding negative raising, which are mainly based on the verb *wenan*, could be tested in a separate study that would also include other verbs denoting belief and assumption.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Table 1. The Corpus

Table 1. Corpus

Text and text type	Dialect	Word count
<i>Charters (Robertson)</i>		
Document	Anglian/Kentish/Early WS & Late WS	25,638
<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A)</i>		
History	Early WS	14,551
<i>Bede's History</i>		
History	Early WS with Anglian elements	80,521
<i>The Old English Orosius</i>		
History	Early WS	51,110
<i>Cura Pastoralis</i>		
Religious treatise	Early WS	67,835
<i>Preface to Cura Pastoralis</i>		
Preface	Early WS	874
<i>Preface to Genesis</i>		
Preface	Late WS	1,383
<i>Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard</i>		
Religious treatise	Late WS	10,182
<i>The Vespasian Psalter</i>		
Bible	Early Anglian	32,347
<i>The Gospel of St. Matthew</i>		
Bible	Late WS	20,436
<i>The Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew</i>		
Bible	Late Anglian	21,327
<i>The Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew</i>		
Bible	Late Anglian	19,628
<i>Blickling Homilies</i>		
Homily	Early WS with Anglian elements	44,918
<i>Homilies of Wulfstan</i>		
Homily	Late WS	28,194
<i>Ælfric's Homilies</i>		
Homily	Late WS	97,702
<i>Gregory's Dialogues (C)</i>		
Biography: life of saint	Early WS with Anglian elements	91,488
<i>Gregory's Dialogues (H)</i>		
Biography: life of saint	Late WS	25,229
<i>The Life of St. Chad</i>		
Biography: life of saint	Early WS with Anglian elements	2,649
<i>De Temporibus Anni</i>		
Science: astronomy	Late WS	5,311
		Σ 641,323

Appendix 2

Morphological and etymological notes on the negators that occur in this thesis.

Ne

The most common negative element in OE is the particle *ne*, from the older *ni*, ‘not’. The particle goes back to Indo-European **ne/*me* (Fowler 1896: 1; Holthausen 1934: s.v. *ne*). It is cognate with Old Frisian *ne*, *ni*, Old Saxon *ne*, *ni*, Old High German *ni*, *ne*, early Scandinavian (runic) *ni*, Old Idelandic (poetic) *ne*, and Gothic *ni* < the same Indo-European base as Sanskrit *na* (OED s.v. *ne*). After elision of the vowel, the particle *ne* becomes a kind of negative prefix *n-*, which may be attached to some adverbs (e.g. *næfre* ‘never’, *nahwær* ‘nowhere’), pronouns (e.g. *nan*, ‘no one’, ‘none’, *nænig* ‘not any’), or conjunctions (e.g. *nefne*, *nemne* ‘except’, ‘unless’). Contraction of the IE negative particle *ne* before a verb form is attested in various IE languages, e.g. Latin *nolo*, *nolite*, and Old Frisian *nertha* < *ne wertha* ‘to become’ (Levin 1958:492–493). The five OE verbs with the proclitic *n-* are *agan* ‘own’, *habban* ‘have’, *wesan* ‘be’, *willan* ‘will’, and *witan* ‘know’ (Sievers & Brunner 1951: §127A4 & §172; Campbell 1959: §§265, 354 & 469; Hogg 1992: 5.152). The spellings of the contracted verb forms vary (*nelle*, *nylle*, *nalde*; *næm*, *neom*, *nam*; *nestan*, *niton* *nuto*, *nuutu*, *nuuton* etc.). Exceptional spellings include *nuillic* (MtGl (Li) 21.29), and *nwill ic* (MtGl (Li) 15.32). The negator *ne* is attached to the conjunction *ah* three times in my corpus, as in the following instance, where the form *ahne* glosses Latin *nonne*: *cuoedon him drihten ahne god sed ðu geseauw in lond ðinum hwona forðon hæfes unwæstm atih wynnung wilde foter*. (MtGl (Li) 13.27; *dixerunt ei domine nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo unde ergo habet zizania*). In DOE, the form *ahne* occurs as two words (s.v. *ac*). The spelling *ne* ‘nor’ also occurs as a conjunction, either alone or as a pair *ne ... ne* (*naðer ne ... ne*) ‘neither ... nor’ (cf. Goth *nih ... nih*, and *ni ... ni*, Delbrück 1910: 59).

Na

Amalgamation of the prefix *n-* with *a* or *o*, ‘ever’, gives *na* and *no*, ‘never’ (Campbell 1959: §132 fn3; cf. OFris. *na*, *no*, OS, OHG *neo*, *nio*, OIcel. *nei*, Holthausen 1934: s.v. *na*). After the loss of its temporal meaning ‘never’ (Einenkel 1916: 79), the adverb *na* assumes the senses ‘not’ or ‘no’, (cf. PDE *no* as an answer word (*Are you ill?* – *No*), in alternative questions (*Is she wedded or no?*), and before a comparative form (*no more*) (Curme 1930: 138f.). For the forms *namare*, *nabelæs*, *nabeles*, *napulæs*, *naðelæs* and *nomaa*, see DOE.

Naht

The negator *naht/noht* ‘not’, ‘nothing’, a shortened form of *ne* + *awiht* ‘not anything’, is basically a pronoun. During the OE period it partly loses its pronominal function, which is transferred to the pronoun *nan þing*, and becomes the adverb *naht/noht*, ‘not’, PDE *not*. This change is the prerequisite for its use in adverbial phrases, e.g. *naht feor þanon* ‘not far from there’, and as a strengthening element after a negated verb form. A few occurrences of the shorter form *naht*, which is due to the disappearance of the element *w* in the second part of compounds (Campbell 1959: §393; Wright & Wright 1961: §144), are recorded in the translations from King Alfred’s time (*Cura Pastoralis*, *Boethius* and *Soliloquies*), whereas the longer spellings, *nawuht*, *nowuht*, and also *nanwiht/-wuht/-wyht* and *nanuht*, together with *nauht/nawht*, are prevalent in them. The bulk of the shorter forms occurs in the later texts. *Naht* is also used independently in the phrase *to nahte* (*ad nihilum*).

Nahwær

Nahwær < *ne-ahwær*, Latin ‘nusquam’, literally ‘not anywhere’, ‘nowhere’, also has the temporal meaning ‘never’. Occasionally it occurs in the sense ‘in no case’, ‘in no respect’ (BT s.v. *nahwær*). The spellings include *nahwær*, *nahwer*, *nohwær*, and the shortened forms *nawer* and *nower*. (For the negator *nawern* ‘nowhere’, see Campbell 1959: §680).

Nahwæðer

In the negator *nahwæper* ‘neither’ the negative element *n-* is attached to the indefinite pronoun *ahwæper* ‘either of two’, ‘one or other’. The word occurs as a pronoun, or as a conjunction in the combination *nahwæper ne ... ne* ‘neither ... nor’. Due to the variation of the vowels and between *þ* and *ð*, the spellings are numerous: *nohwæþær*, *nawþer*, *nawþær*, *nowþær*, *nowþer*, *naupær*, *nauaþer*, *nawaþer*, *naupær*, etc. The contracted forms *naper*, *naþær*, *noper*, *nader*, *naðer*, etc. also occur (Campbell 1959: §718 fn3).

Nalles

Nalles is an emphatic negative, ‘not’, ‘not at all’, (cf. OHG *nalles*, Holthausen 1934: s.v. *nealles*). The spellings *nalas*, *nales*, *nallas*, *nalles*, *nals* etc. may represent two roots: (i) *nealles* < *ni+ealles*, Latin *nequaquam*, *neque omnino*, or (ii) *nalæs*, *-as*, *-es* < *na+læs* (Holthausen 1934 s.v. *nealles*, *nales*; Wülfing 1901: 295; see also Sievers 1903: 36). In this thesis the following spellings are regarded as variants of *nalles*: *nalas*, *nalæs*, *nales*, *nalæs*, *nallas*, *nallæs*, *nalles*, *nælles*, *nællæs*, *nalys*, *nællys*, and *nals*. The following spellings occur in Psalter texts: *nalys*, *nællys*, *neals*, *neæles*, *neælles*, *neeæles* and possibly *nelæs* in PsGIC (Rosier) 138.21, where it translates Lat. *nonne* (cf. Wülfing 1894: 193f.; Mitchell 1985: §1620). The occurrences suggest that *nalles* is an early form. There are no examples of the adverb in the late West Saxon texts, but it occurs in King Alfred’s translation of *Cura Pastoralis* and in *Orosius*. In some Anglian texts, the spellings *nællas*, *nallas*, *nalles*, *nællæs*, *nælles* etc. are contracted verb forms of the verb *ne+willan* (for such forms, see Lindelöf 1901: 150, and Kolbe 1912: 105). The periphrastic construction often glosses Latin *nolite* or *noli*, as in *nællas gie woenæ* (*nolite putare*; MtGl (Li) 5.17).

Nan

In the indefinite pronoun *nan* ‘no, none, no one’, the negative element *n-* is attached to *an* ‘one’. Jespersen (1917: 81) states that *not one*, which literally means ‘less than one’, has become the natural expression for *none* in many languages (cf. Old Frisian *nen*, *nin*, *nan*, ON *neinn* etc.). The stem vowel varies, e.g. *nenne*, *nænne*, and *non*.

Nateshwon

Nateshwon ‘not at all’, ‘by no means’ translates Lat. *haud* and *nullatenus* ÆGram 226:6. Campbell (1959: §393) considers *nateshwon* a reduced form of **nawihteshwon* (cf. also Holthausen 1934, s.v. *n-atedæs-*, *na-tes-hwon* < **n-a-wiht-ðæs*). *Nateshwon* may also be a contracted form of *natopæshwon*, *natopeshwon* etc. The following spellings are found in DOEC: *natehwon*, *nateshwan*, *nateshwon*, *nateshwonne*, *nateswan*, *nateswon*, *natehwon*, *natheswon* and *natohwon*. The adverb *natestohwi* seems to have the same meaning as *nateshwon* in *þæt <þu> na <gepristlæce> natestohwi to þisum husle to ganne* ‘that you do not by any means dare to go to this Eucharist’ (LawIudDei VII 0007 (13A)). All the spellings of this negator listed above occur in the prose only. Some 50% of all the occurrences are in Ælfric’s works.

Næfre

The adverb *næfre* < *n+æfre*, Latin ‘numquam’, is the OE temporal adverb ‘never’. The spelling variants include the following: *næfre*, *nefre*, *næfræ*, *nefræ*, *næffre*, *naafre*, *nefra*, *neofre*, *nærfre*, and *nearfe*. In the older form *næbre*, found 5 times in CP(H), <*b*> occurs as a symbol for the bilabial spirant, later spelt *f* (Sievers & Brunner 1951: §191).

Nænig

The indefinite pronoun *nænig* < *ne+ænig* ‘not any’, ‘none, no’ is used either independently or as an attribute. It is more frequent than the negator *nan* in the Anglian texts. The spelling with *-e-* (*nenig*, *nenge*, *neniggra ðinga*) also occurs as well as the rare *nanig*. OE *nænig* does not survive beyond Early Middle English. According to Mustanoja (1960: 210–211), its last known occurrence is recorded in *Ormulum*.

Næs

The adverb *næs*, which is a homonym of the contracted verb form *næs* < *ne + wæs*, may be regarded as a shortened form of the adverb *nalles* (Grimm 1890: 698). Wülfing (1901: 291) suggests that the adverb goes back to the contracted verb form *næs*, ‘was not’, whereas Grein & Koehler (1912 s.v. *næs*) regard *næs* as a combination of ‘not’ and ‘yes’, (*ne + gise/gese* > *næs*). “ich halte es für zusammengesetzt aus *ne* und Affirmativpartikel *gese*, *gise*, engl. *yes*”.

Nefne

Nefne (*nemne*, *nymðe* etc.) ‘unless, except’ is a conjunction used to connect words or clauses, and a preposition ‘except’ governing the dative case (BT: s.v. *nefne*; Kock 1921: 115–117). The word mainly occurs in some texts considered Anglian, or texts with non-WS elements (Napier 1894; Cook 1894, s.v. *nymðe*; Deutschbein 1900: 4–5; Jordan 1906:46–48; Ritter 1907: 178–180; Lindelöf 1914: 54f.; Scherer 1928:16; Menner 1947: 589, Flasdieck 1950). The occurrences of the various spellings of *nefne* in the *Vespasian Psalter*, the *Vespasian Hymns* and the *Rushworth Gospel of St Matthew* allow Mather (1894: 77–78) to draw the conclusion that “the conjunction *nemne* (*nymðe*) is an Anglian form, probably Mercian.” Mitchell and Robinson (1982: §168) state that *nefne*, which mostly occurs in the poetry, is the Anglian equivalent of *butan*. Due to the numerous spelling variants there is no consensus as to the etymology of *nefne*. The spellings recorded in DOEC include the following: *næfne*, *nefne*, *nemne*, *nemþe*, *nemðe*, *nimme*, *nimþe*, *nimðe*, *nybðe*, *nymne*, *nympþe*, *nympðe*, *nympþe*, *nymþe*, *nymðe* and *naemne*. In Bede (MS T) 384.24 the word occurs as *naemne* (Miller 1959 [1890]).

Nehuarne

The solitary occurrence of *nehuarne* (< *ne hwær ne?*, Cook 1894, s.v. *ne hwær ne*) occurs in MtGl (Li) 8.30, see fn 47 above.

Nese

Nese < *ne sie*, ‘no’, ‘not’, Lat. ‘non’, is the antonym of OE *gese* (*gise*), ‘yes’, and is formed analogically (cf. *gise*, an old group-compound of *gea* and the subjunctive *sie*, ‘be it’, Ross 1961: 284f., see also Koch 1878: 579 fn.). Wülfing (1901, 290) considers *nese* an adverb, whereas Mitchell (1985: §1239) includes it in the list of interjections. Campbell (1959) does not include it in the index of his grammar. *Nese* does not outlive the OE period (Kisbye 1971:183). The spellings are *naese*, *naesi*, *naeso* and *nese*. Occasionally *nese* is duplicated and accompanied by the element *la* ‘lo, behold!’, the result being an emphatic negative interjection *nese la nese*, (cf. *gea la gea* / *gise la gise*, Wülfing ii 695).

Nic

The negator *nic* < *ne-ic* is an ossified form that can be translated by ‘no’ (Hogg 1992: 5.152). It occurs in an answer to a wh-question, e.g. *wylt þu fon sumne hwæl? Nic*. Latin *Nolo*. ‘Would you like to catch a whale? – No’ (ÆColl 109–110). Mitchell (1985: §1239) regards it as an interjection.

Un-

The prefix *un-* goes back to IE form *n-* (syllabic *ṇ*), reduced from IE **ne* (Fortson 2010: 148). The prefix is cognate with Old Frisian *un-*, *on-*; Old Saxon *un-*; Old High German *un-* (Middle High German *un-*, German *un-*), Old Icelandic *ú-*, *ó-*, and Sanskrit *a-* (OED s.v. *un-*). It indicates the antithesis of the stem meaning in words like *ungeara*, and *unfyrn*, both meaning ‘not long ago’ (cf. *geara* ‘long ago, formerly, of old, of yore, once’ (DOE s.v. *geara*), and *fyrn* ‘formerly, long ago’, (DOE s.v. *fyrn*), and also *ungefyrn* ‘formerly, long ago’ (DOE, s.v. *gefyrn*). The prefix is not used with stems that are negative on the evaluative scale. Sometimes the meaning is pejorative (*unwritere* ‘a bad writer, a careless writer’). The prefix *un-* may be attached to adjectives (*ungearu* ‘unprepared’), nouns (*unfrið* ‘hostility’), adverbs (*uneaðe* ‘with difficulty’), and less frequently to verbs (*untrumian* ‘weaken’). It is mainly used to indicate the antithesis of the stem meaning (*gelic* ‘similar’, *ungelic* ‘dissimilar’). Occasionally it only intensifies the meaning of the stem (*uncoðu* ‘disease’, *coðu* ‘illness’) (Quirk & Wrenn 1983: §170).

Low frequency negators introduced by the element *n-*

The other *n-*-prefixed negators not found in my corpus include *nahwonan*, ‘from nowhere’ and *nahwider* (*nahwæder*, *-wyder*, *nohwider*) ‘to no place’. The latter word also occurs in *nowiderweardes*, ‘in no direction’, ‘nowhither’ (ChronE(Plummer) 1137.33). *Nahwæder* may be a variant of *nahwæper* (cf. *ahwæder*, ‘in jeder Richtung, auch irgendwohin’ Holthausen s.v. *ahwæder*).

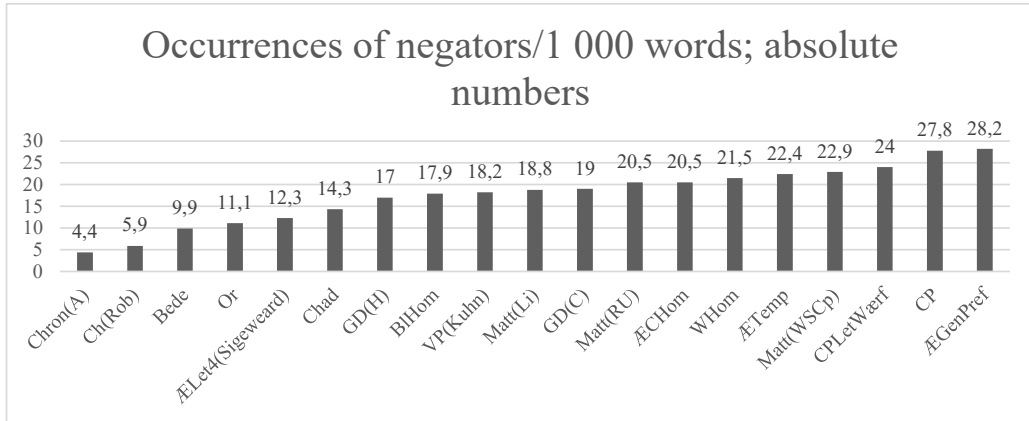
Nahu, ‘in no way’, occurs three times in DOEC: Bo 32.71.15, Solil 2.59.16 and 59.2.21. Here the interrogative adverb *hu* is modified by *a*. The prefix *n-* makes it negative.

The time adverbial *nawa* < *ni-awa* ‘never’, (cf. Goth. *ni aiw*, OS, OHG *neo*, BT s.v. *nawa*), occurs in Læceboc 76.5 *þæt is swiþe strang þam þe nawa ær þigde* (for *awa*, see Campbell 1959: §356, Holthausen 1934: s.v. *awa*).

The words *nathwa*, *nathwær*, *nathwilc* are special cases. In the combinations *nathwæt* ‘something unknown’ and *nathwær* ‘in some place unknown’ the contracted verb form *nat* ‘I do not know’ is attached to the interrogative pronoun *hwæt* ‘what’ or adverb *hwær* ‘where’. A few examples of these pronouns are found in the Riddles (Rissanen 1986: 116–120). The forms *nathwa* ‘anyone, I do not know who’ (‘ich weiss nicht wer, irgendein’ Holthausen 1934 s.v. *nathwa*; Campbell 1959: §723) and *nathwelc* ‘someone I do not know who’ included in some grammars and articles (e.g. Wright & Wright 1961 [1908]: §315), do not occur as separate items in DOEC.

Appendix 3

Figure 3. The occurrences of negators / 1,000 words in the select corpus.



In HC, the types of text have been grouped into 6 prototypical text categories. The texts of Figure 3 represent the following categories:¹⁰⁴

1. religious instruction (religious treatise*, homily, rule, preface*, sermon): *Wulfstan's Homilies*, *Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward*, *The Blickling Homilies*, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, *Ælfric's Preface to Genesis*, and *Alfred's Cura Pastoralis*.
2. nonimaginative narration (history, biography (saint's life, autobiography, other, religious treatise*): *Chad*, *Gregory's Dialogues* MS C and H, *Chronicle* MS A, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and *Alfred's Orosius*.
3. expository [science (astronomy*, medicine*, other), educational treatise*]: *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*.

The following texts, *Vespasian Psalter*, the *Lindisfarne*, *Rushworth* and *West Saxon* versions of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, *Alfred's Preface to Cura Pastoralis* and *Charters* (Robinson) are marked with X (no value) in HC. In my select corpus, there are no examples of the following prototypical categories:

4. imaginative narration (fiction, romance, travelogue*, geography),
5. secular instruction [handbook, science (astronomy*, medicine*), philosophy*, educational treatise*], and
6. statutory (law, document*).

¹⁰⁴ The categories may overlap. The asterisk* indicates that not all representatives of the type of text in question belong to one and the same prototypical category.

Appendix 4

List of negative spellings (229) recorded in my corpus. These spellings follow the paper editions listed in the references. Some of the spellings, such as *nales* (DOEC *nales*) and *nemot* (DOEC *ne mot*) etc., are not found in DOEC.

ahne [in glosses]

na, nabban, nabbas, nabbað, nabbaþ, nabbe, nabbende nabbon, naefre, naemne, nafre, nafað, nafap, nage, nah, naht, nahte, nahton, nahwar, nahwær, nahwæðer, nalas, nalæs, nalęs, nalde, naldes, naldon, naldun, nales, nallas, nallæs, nallað, nalles, nalleð, nals, nam, nan, nana, nanan, nane, nanegum, nanes, nanne, nanon, nanra, nanre, nanuht, nanum, nanwiht, nanwuht, nast, naðer, naðere, naðor, naþær, naþelæs, naþer, naþor, naþulæs, nat, nateshwon, natoðæshwon, nauht, nauhte, nauðer, nauþær, nauþer, nauwiht, nawar, nawer, nawht, nawiht, nawðær, nawþer, nawuht, nawuhtes

næ, næbban, næbbað, næbbe, næbben, næbbend, næbbende, næbre, næfdan, næfde, næfden, næfdest, næfdon, næfdun, næfeþ, næfis, næfra, næfræ næfre næfst, næfð, næfþ, nællæs, nællas, nælleð, nælles, næm, nænegu, nænegum, nænge, nænges, nængum, nænig, nænige, næniges, nænigmon, nænigne, nænigo, nænigra, nænigre, nænigu, nænigum, næniht, nænihte, nænine, nænne, næran, nære, næren, næron, nærun, næs, næðer, næfdun, nællað

ne, neam, nec, nefdan, nefne, nefre, nehuarne, nel, nele, nellan, nellað, nellaþ, nellas, nelle, nellen, nellendum, nellon, nelt, nemne, nemot, nemðe, nemþe, nene, nenegum, nenge, nenig, nenigne, neom, nere, neren, neron, nes, nese, nestan, neyþer

ni, nic, nile, nis, niton, niwihte

no, noht, nohte, nohtes, nohuæðer, nohwæðer, nohwær, nolæs, noldan, nolde, nolden, noldest, noldon, non, noðer, noþer, nouðer, nower, nowiht, nowihte, nowuht

nuillic, nutige, nutu, nuuto, nuuton

nwill

nyl, nyle, nyll, nyllan, nyllað, nylle, nyllen, nylleþ, nylt, nymne, nymðæ, nymðe, nymþe, nymþe, nys, nysðon, nysse, nystan, nyste, nysten, nystest, nyston, nystun, nyta, nytan, nytað, nyte, nytende, nyton

